National Library of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada

Canadian Theses Service

Service des thèses canadiennes

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

NL-339 (r. 88/04) c

Canada

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

NEOCONSERVATIVE IDEOLOGY IN ALBERTA EDUCATION POLICY

BY

ANTHONY H. JONES

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTERS OF EDUCATION

IN

SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS

EDMONTON, ALBERTA
FALL, 1990

National Library of Canada
Bibliothèque nationale du Canada

Canadian Theses Service
Service des thèses canadiennes

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

The author has granted an irrevocable non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of his/her thesis by any means and in any form or format, making this thesis available to interested persons.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in his/her thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence irrévocable et non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de sa thèse de quelque manière et sous quelque forme que ce soit pour mettre des exemplaires de cette thèse à la disposition des personnes intéressées.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège sa thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

ISBN 0-315-64884-8

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

RELEASE FORM

NAME OF AUTHOR: Anthony H. Jones

TITLE OF THESIS: NEOCONSERVATIVE IDEOLOGY IN
ALBERTA EDUCATION POLICY

DEGREE: Masters of Education

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED: Fall 1990

PERMISSION IS HEREBY GRANTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA LIBRARY TO REPRODUCE SINGLE COPIES OF THIS THESIS AND TO LEND OR SELL SUCH COPIES FOR PRIVATE SCHOLARLY OR SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH PURPOSES ONLY.

THE AUTHOR RESERVES OTHER PUBLICATION RIGHTS, AND NEITHER THE THESIS NOR EXTENSIVE EXTRACTS FROM IT MAY BE PRINTED OR OTHERWISE REPRODUCED WITHOUT THE AUTHOR'S WRITTEN PERMISSION.

(STUDENT'S SIGNATURE)

351 - 37 Avenue
(STUDENT'S PERMANENT ADDRESS)

Edmonton AB

[illegible]

DATE: [illegible]

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

THE UNDERSIGNED CERTIFY THAT THEY HAVE READ, AND RECOMMEND TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH FOR ACCEPTANCE, A THESIS

ENTITLED: NEOCONSERVATIVE IDEOLOGY IN ALBERTA EDUCATION POLICY

SUBMITTED BY ....

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTERS OF EDUCATION IN SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION.

John Young

Supervisor- Professor John R. Young

G. D. Taylor

Dr. Gerald D. Taylor

R. G. McIntosh

Dr. R.G. McIntosh

DATE: June 15/90

DEDICATED TO

Pearl and Rhondda

ABSTRACT

In this thesis the presence of neoconservative ideology in Alberta Education policy is investigated. Previous explanations of a neutral political stance in Alberta Education is rejected, thereby attempting to provide evidence of a set of values in policy documents that can only be adequately described by the label "neoconservative."

Neoconservatism is defined as a rather unusual synthesis of socio-political ideas drawn from both traditional conservative ideology and classical liberal ideology of the 19th century. It is suggested that modern developments in socio-political thought have precipitated the evolution or synthesis of ideas that is commonly referred to in the 1980s as neoconservatism.

Many educators claim that partisan political views have no place in the educational environment of a democratic society. Although many believe that "neutral" information is being transmitted in our educational system and schools, there is also evidence to prove that some views are being over-represented in policy documents, textbooks, etc. (Anyon, 1979). It is the purpose of this thesis to explain what neoconservative ideology is and then provide evidence of its presence in Alberta Education policy documents.

The branch of Alberta Education whose sole responsibility is the development of policy documents is the Planning and Policy Secretariat. Therefore, eight policy documents produced by the Planning and Policy Secretariat of Alberta Education between 1986

ABSTRACT (continued)

and 1989 will be the focus of this study.

A content analysis of eight Alberta Education documents will be used to provide evidence of neoconservative ideology. The statements made in these documents will be analyzed with respect to the values or themes common to neoconservative ideology. The most effective way to analyze statements in this study is believed to be through the use of thematic units or themes. Therefore, the nine thematic units being used in this study are: Profit Enterprise, Individualism, Human Condition, Equality, Family, Authority, Government, Tradition, and Other. Nominal scale scores on these themes will be grouped under three ideologies: Traditional Conservatism, Classical Liberalism, and Other. It will be explained how the co-existence of values which have been labelled as part of traditional conservatism or classical liberalism have combined to constitute neoconservative ideology in Alberta Education policy documents.

Tabulations as to the frequency of thematic units in the sample documents will be provided. In addition, some discussion of how the evidence of this study corresponds and differs with other studies in neoconservatism follows. Finally, some concluding remarks about the influence and implications neoconservative ideology can and will have on education will be explored.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Any piece of work of this magnitude cannot be achieved without support and encouragement along the way. Through the following comments I hope to convey my sincere thanks and appreciation to the people who helped make this venture possible.

My thesis supervisor, John Young, has been an invaluable resource in providing suggestions and challenges throughout. However, I don't want to have to leave his contributions with just a sterile, academic type of salutation, for his bona fide encouragements seemed to be beyond what one would call a "duty."

Dr. Taylor's assistance and suggestions also helped me to achieve this goal. Gerry was a key figure in my admission to the M. Ed. (Sociology) programme and I am eternally grateful.

Later on in my thesis preparation, Gordon McIntosh's interest and comments gave me even more positive information to draw from.

I found the staff and Faculty of the Educational Foundations Department to be very supportive. In general, the staff of the Educational Foundations Department have helped to make these years memorable as a positive experience. Special mention has to be made of Barb Shokal's assistance and encouragement along the way. In addition, Dr. Carney's interest and participation in my oral exam was viewed as a source of encouragement.

Last but not least, my fellow students and colleagues of the Department were a constant source of support and encouragement.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION....1
  Ideology....3
  Neoconservatism....5
  Statement of the Problem....13
  Overview of the Study....14

CHAPTER TWO: THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEOCONSERVATISM....16
  Classical Liberalism....17
  Traditional Conservatism....28
  The Synthesis into Neoconservatism....33
  Neoconservatism in Canada....41
  Summary....51

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY....52
  Content Analysis....52
  Purpose of the Study....58
  The Sample....59
  Thematic Units....63
  Operationalization of Thematic Units....67
  Summary....75

CHAPTER FOUR: EXAMINATION OF SAMPLE DOCUMENTS....76
  Program Policy Manual-1986....87
  Directions to 1990....93
  Alberta Education Core Values....94
  Program Policy Manual-Revised 1987....95
  Alberta Education: Mission, Goals, and Sub-Goals....95
  Education in Alberta: Some Major Educational Trends....96
  Education in Alberta: Some Major Societal Trends....97
  Program Policy Manual-1989....97
  Summary....99

CHAPTER FIVE: FINDINGS....100
  Profit Enterprise....101
  Individualism....102
  Human Condition....103
  Equality....105
  Authority....106
  Family....107
  Government....109
  Tradition....110
  Other....111
  Classical Liberalism....112
  Traditional Conservatism....125
  OTHER....127
  Limits of the Study....130

TABLE OF CONTENTS
(continued)

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSIONS....................................133
Educational Policy.........................138

APPENDICES: List of Documents Produced by
Planning and Policy Secretariat-
Alberta Education-1986-1989..................146

BIBLIOGRAPHY..156

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Categories of Analysis.....................69

Table 2: Nominal Scores in Relation to Ideologies.....................79

Table 3: Program Policy Manual-1986; Thematic Unit Scores.................113

Table 4: Program Policy Manual-1986; Scores on Ideology...................113

Table 5: Directions to 1990; Thematic Unit Scores........................114

Table 6: Directions to 1990; Scores on Ideology..........................114

Table 7: Alberta Education Core Values; Thematic Unit Scores...............115

Table 8: Alberta Education Core Values; Scores on Ideology.................115

Table 9: Program Policy Manual-Revised 1987; Thematic Unit Scores.........116

Table 10: Program Policy Manual-Revised 1987; Scores on Ideology..........116

Table 11: Alberta Education: Mission, Goals, and Sub-Goals; Thematic Unit Scores.............................117

Table 12: Alberta Education: Mission, Goals, and Sub-Goals; Thematic Unit Scores.............................117

Table 13: Education in Alberta: Some Major Educational Trends; Thematic Unit Scores.............................118

Table 14: Education in Alberta: Some Major Educational Trends; Scores on Ideology...............................118

Table 15: Education in Alberta: Some Major Societal Trends; Thematic Unit Scores.............................119

LIST OF TABLES
(continued)

Table 16: Education in Alberta: Some Major Societal Trends; Scores on Ideology....119

Table 17: Program Policy Manual-1989; Thematic Unit Scores....120

Table 18: Program Policy Manual-1989; Scores on Ideology....120

Table 19: Summary of Averages on Ideologies (in Percentages)....121

Table 20: Composition of Classical Liberalism; Thematic Units as a Percentage of the Overall Occurrence of Classical Liberalism....122

Table 21: Composition of Traditional Conservatism; Thematic Units as a Percentage of the Overall Occurrence of Classical Liberalism....123

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Alberta Education Organizational Chart......61

Figure 2: Title Listing of Sample Documents...........77

Figure 3: Example of Coding...........................88

Exhibit 1: Example of Coding..........................89

Exhibit 2: Example of Coding..........................91

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The role that education plays in the larger society is a matter of much disagreement. Both official and informal explanations have been given for the suitable function of education. For sociologists, education is seen as serving a wide variety of functions, but primarily in acting as a conduit in the acquisition of culture. Education also functions to allocate credentials necessary for the young in attaining their adult status. Indeed, if meritocratic principles prevail, then equality of opportunity will ensure that competition for status will be fair and just. Reliance on achievement, in western democracies, has generally been viewed as greater than ascriptive principles.

Whether education is viewed as cultural transmission, a mechanism for allocating credentials, or providing opportunities in the class structure, one universal theme in popular discussions is its role of socializing the young. Hurn (1985) and others have distinguished education from the broader concept of socialization in that education is formal and deliberate; "all modern societies take considerable pains to ensure that the young learn what might be called the founding myths of the culture." (p.5) Modern societies illustrate the struggle to determine which "founding myths" will be transmitted in education and which ones will be excluded. Some sociologists have gone even further in saying that this struggle is a manifestation of conflict between social groups or classes to obtain control or power. Bernstein (1971) concurs in stating that how societies select, classify, distribute, transmit and evaluate educational knowledge is a reflection of the distribution of power.

Does this distribution of power determine what kind of society should be valued? Ideologies provide the "knowledge" and justifications for the types of social formations which are considered appropriate. Through political ideologies our children learn what social arrangements are considered appropriate to perform what functions.

Deciding what constitutes valuable knowledge is an important and powerful choice. If knowledge were seen as "neutral" then the positioning of key actors within the educational establishment would not be problematic. However, a whole body of sociological literature has suggested that knowledge is anything but "neutral." In fact, many sociologists (especially those working within the conflict paradigm) have suggested that knowledge is being controlled by a particular class of individuals. Through ideologies certain groups have been identified as the primary determinants in what knowledge is valued (Young, 1971). Purposive use of ideologies by their adherents has led to a whole body of literature exploring the role ideologies play in society.

IDEOLOGY

Only during the French Enlightenment did the concept of "ideology" gain prominence. Enlightenment thinkers reduced concepts of common sense to their simplest elements, reconstructing them into precise scientific concepts, supposedly to yield a precise "ideology."

In politics, the philosophers' assumption was that misery was the product of the prejudices and inexact reasoning of common sense. This meant that "ideology," as the science of politics, could produce a plan for political well being, a design for the just and happy society. Ideologies were sets of ideas developed by thinkers reacting to political problems by posing "scientific" solutions. In many ways "ideology" stood for revolutionary thought aimed at the destruction of traditional beliefs and the structures associated with them. The fact that the term "ideology" was associated with a specific revolutionary mode of thought foreshadows the later development of the concept. Later, philosophers, political scientists, and sociologists would label "ideology" as a form of false-consciousness. In Marx's work, "ideology" represented false ideas concerning reality, insofar as they reflect the exclusive interests of a particular class and become a determining factor in human existence (Kinloch, 1981,p.5).

"Ideology" is a term used in many circumstances, varying in its degree of emphasis regarding the issues of conscious intent by individuals or social groups. Mannheim (1936), in reference to "ideology," postulated that reactions to the term are related to acceptance or rejection of Marxist perspectives. Those who espouse a Marxist concept of "ideology" believe that power groups determine what knowledge is valued and which is discarded.

"Ideology" following Marchak (1988)is defined for the purposes of this thesis as:

> shared ideas, perceptions, values, and beliefs through which members of society interpret history and contemporary social events and which shape their expectations and wishes for the future. (p.5)

Undoubtedly, the Marxist perspective has contributed to the development of the concept of ideology, however, the association of ideology with distorted reality or false consciousness is not included in the definition used in this study. Although not all ideologies are seen as connected to social control and power, a case can be made that some ideologies serve the interest of some groups over others (Anyon, 1979, p.363).

Political ideologies in particular are seen as weapons of particular interest groups. All knowledge is seen as not necessarily ideological, however, knowledge is viewed as being a product of one's perspective which is certainly influenced by ideologies.

Ideology and theory are closely related concepts. Theory, however, differs from ideology in that it is assumed theories are tested to confirm or refute their relevancy (Marchak, 1988, p.6). In many cases ideologies are envisaged by their advocates as correct and the assumptions are not usually scrutinized.

Dominant ideology is defined as that particular set of ideas, perceptions, values, and beliefs most widely shared and impacting on social policies and actions (Marchak, 1988, p.5). Although many ideologies may be available for public consumption in any particular era, one ideology will be the most popular and attain the status of a dominant ideology. In this thesis, neoconservatism is hypothesized as the dominant ideology in Alberta Education documents.

NEOCONSERVATISM

Like any other ideology, neoconservatism has not developed in isolation. Classical liberalism, contemporary liberalism, traditional conservatism, and other modes of political thought have contributed and are inherent in much of what is labelled as neoconservatism.

Neoconservatives have to contend with an ideological dilemma. With neoconservatives drawing from both traditional conservatism and classical liberalism, a dilemma is apparent with regards to their view of the universe. Traditional conservatives view man as having a basic flaw that prevents him from attaining perfection (Harbour, 1982, p.33). In addition, though, traditional conservatives believe that total perfection and perfect goodness can and does exist, but only in God's nature (Harbour, 1982, p.34). On the other hand, classical liberals see man as inherently good but sometimes misguided. Classical liberalism does include a spiritual component but it is only seen as one of a number of characteristics of the individual. Rationalism and reason, in many circumstances, are seen as paramount by classical liberals whereas a theocentric faith is exercised by traditional conservatives.

Harbour (1982) has identified seven characteristics comprising the conservative analysis of human nature:(1) man is a religious being; (2) man's nature exists as a fixed part of the Cosmological ordering of things; (3) man's moral nature is tragically flawed; (4) there are important limits to the powers of reason; (5) man is a social being; (6) man's greatest sin is his pride; and (7) man's nature is such that moral propositions can be based upon it (p.43).

Neoconservatism, as a backlash to contemporary liberalism evidenced in the 1960s and 1970s, allowed for a partial return to the premises of traditional conservatism. The assumption that man's problems could be corrected by social reforms was abandoned and intellectuals admitted the failure of their programs and policies (Harbour, 1982, p.50; Pincus, 1984, p.50). Neoconservative thinkers such as Irving Kristol (1978), Michael Novak (1976), and Milton Friedman (1980) began to see limits to human reason, questioning the efficacy of social programs. Neoconservatives, therefore, adopted some of the premises espoused by traditional conservatives with regards to human nature yet maintained a classical liberal stance on the sanctity of market-model economics.

For neoconservatives, the unit of analysis being the individual or society is resolved again by a compromise between traditional conservatism and classical liberalism. The individual is the primary point of analysis for neoconservatives, however, the traditional conservative view allows only a certain class of individuals to profit from the outcomes. In espousing individualism, neoconservatives reject any collectivist notions of addressing inequalities, and embrace the notion of a specific social "order." The "order" bred by neoconservatives includes many socially-conservative principles: a natural order of inequality; the resurrection of "moral" principles found in family, church, and the law; and a return to the "Golden Age" when everyone knew their place and , therefore, a stable society prevailed

(Hughey, 1982).

Part of the neoconservative pursuit for social and economic stability is manifest in the call for lower government expenditures. Everyone has heard the calls of many political parties over the last decade to reduce government spending. A particular union of opposing political views under the neoconservative label has produced a distinct conception of the role of the state. Within neoconservative groups, views akin to the classical liberal distrust of government (or entrenched institutions) have joined the traditional conservative view of the limits in overcoming man's propensity toward evil. As a result, neoconservatives see governments as capable of only a limited role in the social totality (Steinfels, 1979, p.65).

Neoconservatives see themselves as defenders of individual freedom against the intrusions of the state, and call for a return of the natural right of choice mostly through market mechanisms. An atmosphere of grassroots concern and support has been fostered by the latest of neoconservative advocates (Kristol, 1978; Marchak, 1988).

Old-fashioned "liberal" economists like Havek and Friedman were instrumental in injecting classical liberalism into neoconservatism. Hayek (1960) and Friedman (1980) speak of an economic vision where individual freedom is sustained, defending market principles against state intervention. Keynesian economics, as practiced by Western democracies in the 1970s is viewed as inherently inflationary by neoconservatives. Advocates of Friedman or "public choice" economics encourage actions to de-regulate large sectors of public expenditure, privatize crown corporations and activities, and set limits on government spending. A balanced budget is priorized over other social concerns (Resnick, 1982, p.133).

Along with "free choice" market advocates, traditional conservative groups have found some areas of similar interest. Only when the union of free market and traditional conservative elements is evidenced can a coherent neoconservative formation be identified. These ultra-conservative elements that provide social values to the neoconservative movements have spent the 1960s and 1970s watching in horror as traditional institutions such as family, church, and other authorities become less influential.

Marchak (1988) believes that the "new right" or neoconservatives are concerned with more than the "disintegration of the family unit" (p.191). In addition, Nevitte and Gibbons (1984) working out of the University of Calgary's Political Science Department, developed a neoconservative list of goals that correspond with much of what Marchak typifies as the "New Right."

To provide a systematic analysis of what is termed neoconservatism, its primary elements must be articulated.

The following is a list of the primary tenets of neoconservatism:

1. There should be a minimum of bureaucratic intrusion in individuals' affairs (Marchak, 1988, Resnick, 1982);
2. The market rather than government should be the instrument for allocating resources efficiently while preserving individual freedom (Iatridis, 1988; Marchak, 1988; Pincus, 1984; Resnick, 1982);
3. Citizens should be respectful of traditional values and institutions, i.e., family, church, capital accumulation, etc. (Iatridis, 1988; Marchak, 1988; Pincus, 1984; Resnick, 1982);
4. Our governments are being overloaded, thereby undermining authority (Iatridis, 1988; Resnick, 1982);
5. Traditional authorities must be reasserted and government protected, i.e., the law, military establishment, etc. (Marchak, 1988; Pincus, 1984; Resnick, 1982);
6. There is a crisis of authority--social stability and civilization are threatened (Marchak, 1988);
7. The current crisis is primarily a cultural crisis, a matter of slack values, morals, and manners (Iatridis, 1988; Pincus, 1984; Resnick, 1982);
8. We should ensure equality of opportunity not condition, and preserve a hierarchical society (Iatridis, 1988; Pincus, 1984; Resnick, 1982);
9. An interventionist foreign policy is appropriate

(Marchak, 1988).

Equality of condition is not a concern for neoconservatives. The opportunity to climb the socio-economic ladder is a cornerstone in neoconservatism; however, an inequality of outcome is viewed as a manifestation of "natural inequalities."

If today's socio-political sphere were to be characterized in a dichotomy of ideologies, neoconservatism would occupy one polar position while egalitarianism would occupy the other. In western societies the elite-egalitarian continuum provides the basis for much debate on social issues. Ideologies which service the interests of the privileged are contrasted with those that advocate the re-distribution of wealth and pursuit of a "social good." In essence, talk of restraint on government expenditures and services is a manifestation of the neoconservative view that equality of condition is both undesirable and unnatural. Egalitarians, in opposition, would call for more government intervention to protect those groups most likely to be the losers in the capitalist game, i.e., minorities, women, etc.

Neoconservatives support many of the trends currently in force in educational systems. Centralized governmental decision-making is rejected by educators ascribing to neoconservative principles in favour of decentralized planning (Dolce, 1981). Some claim (Dolce, 1981; Pincus,

1984) that neoconservatives have precipitated the swing towards "creationism" and other moral values in education that were formerly viewed as archaic. Changes in curriculum that reflect a veneration for tradition such as more conservative textbooks and the return to objective tests, have also been attributed to neoconservative elements (Pincus, 1984). And Goble (1981), Engel (1984) and others believe that neoconservatives have supported the move towards markets servicing the educational needs of diverse communities.

Egalitarians would argue that a majority of citizens would not fit into the profit picture drawn by the "schooling capitalists." In addition, egalitarians would support centralized decision-making to protect social objectives aimed towards the disadvantaged. In many ways, the ideology embraced by educational decision-makers has a profound effect on what kinds of decisions are made and what kinds of policies are disseminated.

In today's educational sphere, neoconservatives have attained important decision-making positions while advocating the competitive market model. Neoconservative ideology dictates that competitive pressure is required to spur the breakdown of monopolies and the establishment of "better" public schools or private institutions. The consumer will pick the better "product" most of the time and, in so doing, will force the quality of all to improve.

In other words, neoconservatives believe a marketplace must be introduced to deal appropriately with many social policy issues. Essentially then, neoconservative ideology advocates the replacement of governmental powers with the powers of the marketplace. Ultimately, the neoconservative justification for this change is grounded in the poor performance and responsiveness of public institutions.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

In this thesis the neoconservative ideology identified by Marchak (1988), Nevitte and Gibbons (1984) and Resnick (1982) will be explored with reference to Alberta Education policies. The strategic importance of Alberta Education's policies in defining what is valued as knowledge will be investigated.

Within the organizational structure of Alberta Education, many divisions have influence over policies and practices that are on-going or being readied for implementation. However, the Planning and Policy Secretariat (formerly the Planning Services Division), whose sole purpose is to plan, recommend, and establish courses of action for all other divisions within Alberta Education, is viewed as paramount. Given its central role for establishing and evaluating current policy and practice, it seems appropriate to focus on the work of the Planning and Policy

Secretariat over other divisions.

A content analysis will be performed with the use of selected documents issued by the Planning and Policy Secretariat over the last four years (1986-1989). It is hypothesized that classical liberalism and traditional conservatism have combined to compose what is today termed neoconservatism. As a result, the primary tenets of both classical liberalism and traditional conservatism will be operationalized and tested in relation to a collection of documents produced by the Planning and Policy Secretariat.

OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

Chapter Two of this thesis will describe the development of neoconservatism. Contributions from political thought of the 19th-century will be described and analyzed with respect to neoconservatism. In addition, modern political thought evidenced in the past two decades will be described in relation to the evolution of a coherent neoconservatism during the late 1980s in Canada.

In Chapter Three the explanation of content analysis as an appropriate methodology for this study is explained. A brief description of this method, in addition to its relevancy to the study, will be provided. An explanation of the rationale and selection of operational variables will also be provided.

Analyzing the relevant documents with the help of specified thematic units yields the coding scheme included in Chapter Four. The thematic units, as indicators of a particular political ideology, will be employed as analytical tools to scrutinize selected Planning and Policy Secretariat documents (1986-1989).

In Chapter Five a summary of frequencies of identified themes and ideologies will be discussed. Conclusions will be drawn as to the prevalence of neoconservative ideology in Alberta Education as evidenced through the in-depth content analysis. The findings will provide empirical evidence for some discussion of nuances in the data. What role each theme plays in the overall makeup of neoconservatism will also be supplied.

In Chapter Six conclusions will be drawn about the prevalence of neoconservatism in Alberta Education policy as evidenced through the content analysis. In addition, some of the current trends or directions of Alberta Education will be discussed with reference to observations identified by educators as being indicative of neoconservatism.

CHAPTER TWO: THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEOCONSERVATISM

The reconciliation of classical liberalism and traditional conservatism in forming neoconservative ideology, as hypothesized, will be explored in this Chapter. First the development of classical liberalism is supplied along with a review of the political ideology that is called traditional conservatism. Moreover, considerations regarding how these two traditional political ideologies have come together to form neoconservatism in western democracies and Canada in particular is discussed.

Present day forms of neoconservative ideology suggest a reconciliation between two established modes of thought. Both traditional conservative and classical liberal elements can be found to be inherent in neoconservative doctrine. Although classical liberalism and traditional conservatism were spawned by different interests and priorities, they did share much of the same social and historical context. It is only in recent times under the label of neoconservatism, however, that these two modes of thought have been reconciled. Classical liberalism and traditional conservatism have found common ground under the neoconservative umbrella.

CLASSICAL LIBERALISM

Much of what we call neoconservative ideology is rooted in the classical liberal tradition of the nineteenth-century, an ideology designed for a class-divided society. Classical liberalism called for a classless or one-class society that could be labelled democratic.

If any political movement can be identified as an forerunner of neoconservatism, "classical liberalism" would be it. It is interesting how, what was a radical mode of thought in the nineteenth-century has become part of the conservative ideology of political parties in western democracies of the present. Many of the classical liberal or laissez-faire economic principles, for example, are elements of current "conservative" economics.

The development of classical liberalism is herein explained mostly by drawing from writings by C.B. Macpherson who writes extensively on political thought and coincidentally, has contributed enormously to a coherent analysis of Alberta politics (i.e., Democracy in Alberta; Social Credit and The Party System, 1962). It is C.B. Macpherson's (1977) assertion that the doctrine labelled "classical liberalism" actually was conceived only one hundred and fifty years ago. However, many theorists (Barry, 1986; von Mises, 1978) contend that its roots goes further back perhaps to Jefferson, Rousseau, or even to Puritanism.

Regardless of the historical debate, Macpherson held to his premise that the conceptualization of "classical liberal" thought occurred in the early to mid-nineteenth century.

In reviewing classical liberal literature, one can gain a better insight by establishing what are its "liberal" tenets. Liberalism has traditionally been described as the freeing of individuals from established institutions. However, the link between this liberal ideal and capitalist relations has been an issue of much debate. Many theorists, Macpherson (1977) among them, argue that the advanced industrialism of today's society forces us to look beyond capitalist incentives in searching for a more benevolent and universal system that works for all citizens.

A review of some key figures in the development of classical liberalism will explain how some central elements became attached to what is known by this label. The Benthamite version of liberalism is central to understanding the development of classical liberalism. Bentham did not believe in the "metaphysics of human rights"; for him the benefit of encouraging individual freedom was a rational one, since the efficiency of production was increased and the "social good" maximized. The market is more efficient and liberating because it ignores individual characteristics. All individual characteristics are ignored by the market, thereby establishing a basis upon which relationships are formed, a person's ability to offer marketable goods or services and maximize utility is viewed as paramount (Stark, 1952-54).

Jeremy Bentham and utilitarianism are viewed by historians and sociologists alike as pillars of the classical liberal school of thought. In utilitarianism, the human being is viewed as a rational being. Social good is defined as the greatest happiness of the greatest number, and happiness as the amount of individual pleasure minus pain. Every individual should seek to maximize his/her own pleasure without limit and thereby increase the pleasure of society as a whole (Barry, 1986). In respect for the individual, governments must leave room for personal autonomy. Contrary action would simply deny individual existence--for it impedes the development of that rational centre in the individual, where the essence of self resides (Macpherson, 1977).

Utilitarianism supposedly allows individuals to see the world as it is and not just as it seems to the agent (although, how it seems to the agent is a very important part of how it is) (Macpherson, 1977). A utilitarian rises above the individual's predicament and sees the meaning of his/her actions in their long-term success or disaster. Actions that are justified from this perspective may naturally seem irrational or impermissible to the agent. For the utilitarian, justification may identify a motive to refrain (Stark, 1952-54).

Assumptions embraced by both Jeremy Bentham and James Mill further exemplify the classical liberal school of thought. Mill in his article, Government, comments that human beings naturally seek to render others subservient to their pleasures and that this is the foundation of government. Bentham has provided the assumption that in seeking pleasure, nature has created these motives for human beings and has given them a sufficient energy. There is no mention of differential energies or abilities.

Bentham also cited the fear of starvation as the natural incentive for productive labour. Fear of starvation along with property rights would provide for a productive society. Another principle that Bentham viewed as a necessity was security of property. It was said that without security of property in the rewards of labour (capital accumulation devices), civilization would be impossible. In addition, he explained that security of any existing kind of established property, including that which could not possibly be the fruits of one's labour (i.e., inherited wealth or capital), must be guaranteed (Macpherson, 1977, p.31).

In classical liberalism, the criterion of pleasure is connected to the possession of money or wealth (Macpherson, 1977):

> Money is the instrument of measuring the quantity of pain or pleasure. Those who are not satisfied with the accuracy of this instrument, must find out some other that shall be more accurate, or bid adieu to politics

and morals (pp.25-26).

John Stuart Mill's contributions to this classical liberalism was more virtuous but with some qualifications. He was interested in the chances of the improvement of mankind and his emphasis was on what democracy could do for human development. He envisaged man's nature as described below (Robson, 1967):

> Man is essentially...an exerter and developer and enjoyer of his capacities. The good society is one which permits and encourages everyone to act as exerter, developer, and enjoyer of the exertion and development of his or her own capacities (pp.754-5).

It is ironic that although John Stuart Mill observed class inequality, and viewed it as incompatible with his developmental democracy, he regarded it as being merely accidental and curable.

Although both John Stuart Mill and Bentham believed happiness or pleasure should be maximized, they differed in their definition of these principles. John Stuart Mill insisted that there were qualitative differences in pleasures, but refused to equate the greatest aggregate happiness with maximum productivity. He believed the greatest happiness could be attained by permitting and encouraging individuals to develop themselves. He then suggested that this would make them capable of higher pleasures and would increase the aggregate pleasure measured in terms of both quantity and quality (Macpherson, 1977).

In addressing the different levels of ownership in society, J.S. Mill saw the owner of capital as necessarily having a share of the product, and he held that this was consistent with the equitable principle because capital is simply the product of previous labour and abstinence. But Mill relied on the argument that (Macpherson, 1977):

> while it is true that the labourers are at a disadvantage compared with those predecessors who saved, it is also true that the labourers are far better off than if those predecessors had not saved (p.54).

J.S. Mill also advocated a plural voting system where the members of the smaller class (the capitalists) would be equally represented in elections. He suggested that neither of the two classes should outweigh the other and neither class could impose class legislation. Along with this plural voting system, J.S. Mill advocated the exclusion of many (Macpherson, 1977):

> Those in receipt of poor relief were to be excluded: they had failed in the market. So were undischarged bankrupts...Again, those who could not read, write and reckon, were to be excluded. This also was not intended as a backward way of excluding a large number of the poor, for Mill held that society had a duty to put elementary schooling within the reach of all who wanted it. But it would effectively have excluded the poor, for he held that when society had failed to perform this duty, (as it clearly had in Mill's time), the exclusion from the franchise of those who suffered from that failure was a "hardship" that ought to be borne (p.57).

Much of what we call classical liberalism was firmly in place before universal franchise was established in modern western societies. It is ironic that a position espousing individual freedom was originally opposed to universal franchise. For classical liberals, franchise produced governments which promote both a free market society and protect citizens from the government it created. In the case of James Mill, the solution was easy (Barker, 1937):

> all those individuals whose interests are indisputably included in those of other individuals may be struck off without inconvenience. (p.45)

Therefore, one can see that the classical liberals did not originally favour universal franchise. Certainly, it would be difficult to identify any altruism in their values.

Classical liberalism, which sees the state as a means to the end of individual freedom, is bound to consider the civil society as subordinate to the requirements established in the principle of freedom. The underlying idea is again profoundly anti-conservative suggesting that legitimacy can reside only in contractual or quasi-contractual agreement and not in established arrangements dictated by government institutions (Scruton, 1984):

> The state is what it is for the liberal-a means; the end being "social justice", a word which, in so far as it stands for anything, stands for a society that we do not have and may equally not desire.

In the next stage of the development of classical liberalism, democracy was seen as simply a mechanism for choosing and authorizing governments. Democracy was not seen as a "type" of society, or a set of moral ends, the mechanism consisted of a competition between two or more self-chosen sets of politicians or political parties. The voter's role is to decide on political issues and then choose politicians who will carry out those decisions. In choosing those who will do the deciding (Macpherson, 1977, p.78) in this system, democracy is equated with an economic model. Democracy is a market mechanism where the citizens are the consumers and the politicians the entrepreneurs. This political model of rational actors posited the optimal distribution of "political energies and political goods" (Macpherson, 1977, p.79). Another assumption the model holds is that political man, as consumer, demands many diverse decisions. The only way of organizing and distributing supply and demand in this scheme is through an entrepreneurial system which operates in the standard model of the competitive market economy. The market model attempts to explain the exchange of goods and services in society as the result of the interactions among buyers and sellers seeking to maximize their individual benefits under the conditions of unrestricted competition. The ideological thrust of the market model is to support the contention that the free market works to allocate goods and services in a way that "maximizes the utility" of all involved and therefore serves individual and societal interests as well as balances conflicting demands on resources.

Classical liberal thought involves the following six principles (Maddox and Lilie, 1984, pp.9-12):

1. Individualism--From a classical liberal viewpoint a metamorphosis occurred since medieval times; the individual

became the basis for society and government rather than the community. Self-interested individuals, devoid of any altruism, could work towards attaining success in the marketplace. The increase in productivity was the criterion of a "better" society.

2. An Instrumental View of the State--The state was seen as an instrument through which an individual's pursuit of self-interest could be facilitated. In other words, "The state is created for and by individuals" (p.10). In order for the state to exist, individuals must uphold their specific obligations; no prior claim can be made by the state, except through agreement usually around issues like respecting the equal rights of others.

3. Limited Government--The state should be cognizant of its limited necessity in society. The state's functions include protecting individual rights, ensuring the smooth-running of society, and facilitating individual pursuits of initiative. Basically, these limited functions translate into practical issues like enforcing contracts and providing defence and police protection.

4. Individual Rights--Classical liberals vigorously defend certain fundamental rights that should not be violated by governments, institutions, or private individuals. Property rights are a primary concern for, without private property rights, the free market capitalist order would be defunct. Moreover, classical liberals will uphold rights regarding

freedom of expression and behaviour.

5. Equality Under the Law--Legal equality of individuals is essential to classical liberals. Classes or hereditary rights are held as inappropriate in the matter of legal responsibility or accountability. Criminal or civil rights, for example, should be the same for a millionaire as for a welfare recipient. This principle supposedly allows for a meritocratic order; since everyone is equal under the law and equality of opportunity is supported, inequalities are only the result of differential efforts and abilities.

6. Representative Government--As mentioned previously, universal franchise was not always embraced by classical liberals; however, in the evolution of this ideology the threat that universal franchise poses to other rights (for example, contemporaries worried about the effect of universal franchise on property rights) was cast aside in favour of equality. Participatory democracy, where citizens were allowed to express their views, was accepted to a limited degree.

Essentially, both classical liberalists and neoconservatives have been shown as advocates of the market model. As far back as Bentham's utilitarianism, the free market model was embraced as an appropriate distribution system of rewards to "deserving" individuals. In the section on neoconservatism it will be suggested that neoconservatives have borrowed the market model from classical liberal doctrine.

In general, what we know as the classical liberal version of western society was envisaged by writers such as Locke, Adam Smith, James Mill, J.S. Mill and Bentham. They were responsible for developing liberal views individual freedom and the satisfaction of private utilities.

Critical analysis of classical liberal thought will reveal some glaring inconsistencies and logical inadequacies for today's society; however, it remains a pervasive force in the politics of western democracies. With the criterion of pleasure being money, individual and societal good being viewed as compatible, as well as hesitations in establishing universal franchise, some opposition towards classical liberalism began to appear even in the nineteenth-century.

A closer look at classical liberalism reveals that the individuals who can garner the greatest pool of resources will be at a great advantage. When looking at an individual's relation to production, classical liberalism cannot be seen as radical at all. Indeed, classical liberalism is inherently conservative and perpetuates the status quo in social relations. Part of the explanation supplied regarding the ability of neoconservatives to espouse classical liberal doctrine can be attributed to its inherent conservative outcome.

TRADITIONAL CONSERVATISM

The term conservatism usually conjures up notions of the preservation of existing or traditional ways of living. So, relative to classical liberalism, the traditional understanding of conservatism can be seen as a political and social antithesis. Preservation of the status quo is part of the traditional conservative agenda; however, having things remain the same is only one of the important features of traditional conservatism. Traditional conservatism has a distinct view of the universe and man's place within it that dictates a particular social and political course.

Traditional conservatism is generally known in Canada as "toryism." Values that stem from a traditionally-conservative view of man and society translated into a specific "toryism," placing social order and collective or community values over individual rights (Christian and Campbell, 1983, p.8). Although community values and social order were viewed as important, it was a particular hierarchical order that gained primacy in traditional conservative thought.

Edmund Burke is one of the leading spokesman for traditional conservatism. In Burke's (1955) works, moral and social order was strongly emphasized. Burke said, "there is no qualification for government but virtue and wisdom..." (p.57), and when referring to liberals, "the levelers...only change and pervert the natural order of things"(p.55).

Burke believed in hierarchy, inherited rights, custom and prejudice rather than abstract reasoning. He was one of many who espoused an organic conservatism that viewed society as an organism embodying a divinely-given moral order. The Natural Law concept was frequently used by Burke to justify the political and social order of his era. For instance, Stanlis (1958) felt that Burke's most important contribution was his return of Natural Law to its rightful place as the fundamental moral principle of politics (Macpherson, 1980, p.16).

Burke's disdain for abstract reasoning is only understood against his advocacy of concrete observable facts. He believed that empirical generalizations drawn from observation or history should guide social policy. Of course, a political philosophy of this sort could have been viewed as reproducing social relations, allowing very little room for change.

His view of the appropriate social order can be seen in the following quotation (Burke, 1815-27, vol.13):

> We are all born in subjection, all born equally,high and low, governors and governed, in subjection to one great, immutable, pre-existent law, prior to all our devices, and prior to all our contrivances, paramount to all our ideas, and all our sensations, antecedent to our very existence, by which we are knit and connected in the eternal frame of the Universe, out of which we cannot stir. (pp.165-166)

The issue of subjection by the multitude to the wishes of the few was not seen as a problem for Burke. It was necessary for the majority to accept this notion of the "natural order" to sustain social stability.

Burke's abhorrence with the proceedings in the French Revolution was quite different from his treatment of other topics. Although he advocated market principles, his perception of the total lack of order in the French Revolution led to his complete disapproval of the proceedings and consequent outcomes.

Although Burke is seen by many as a staunch traditional conservative, these are not the only elements he espoused. In what only can be labelled a bout of philosophical schizophrenia, in the same breath Burke embraced free market principles and the "natural order." Certainly, C.B. Macpherson (1980) found Burke's approach puzzling:

> the seeming incoherence between Burke the traditionalist and Burke the bourgeois liberal. How could the same man be at once the defender of a hierarchical order and the proponent of a liberal market society? (p.4)

With the advent of liberal progressivism and other modes of political thought, much of what was termed as traditional conservativism became disjointed. To provide coherence to much of the associated works that claim to be conservative, a list of primary principles is necessary. What follows are the most important beliefs within traditional conservative thought:

1. Traditional conservatism has a particular view of the universe; a Cosmological principle is inherent. According to

this Cosmological principle, God is the centre of all things (Harbour, 1982; Kerlinger, 1984; Hughey, 1983).

2. Political theory must always take account of human nature. The traditional conservative account of human nature stresses man's shortcomings and subordinate status within the universe. Man must be seen in reference to his imperfections because man's moral nature is tragically flawed. Especially with regard to reason, man is deceived by his own pride in believing he can impose reason on the world's greatest problems (Harbour, 1982; Maddox and Lilie, 1984; Hughey, 1983).

3. There is an absolute moral ordering to the universe; associated with this, traditional conservatives see a general moral theory which views the person in spiritual terms. The spiritual development of the person and the cultivation of virtue, consequently, is held as a central value. (Harbour, 1982; Maddox and Lilie, 1984; Hughey, 1983).

4. The traditional conservative view of human nature limits politics in leading man to a better condition. Traditional conservatives are antiutopian about politics and doubt the ability of man to adjust society to an ideal vision (Harbour, 1982; Kerlinger, 1984; Scruton, 1984; Christian and Campbell, 1983).

5. The traditional conservative view of limited human reason, an antiutopian vision and belief in pragmatic

political thinking, leads to a rejection of revolution as a form of societal change. Incremental change is the only form of societal change advocated by traditional conservatives because social stability and order must be sustained (Harbour, 1982; Scruton, 1984; Steinfels, 1979; Maddox and Lilie, 1984; Christian and Campbell, 1983).

6. Although traditional conservatives see a limit to human reason in politics, they make considerable claims for human reason when dealing with philosophical issues. Traditional conservatives venerate the religious and metaphysical conceptions found in a general moral ordering of the universe or a natural law (Harbour, 1982; Maddox and Lilie, 1984; Kerlinger, 1984; Hughey, 1983).

7. Man must be aware of his relationship with God as a necessary prerequisite to establishing a good society (Harbour, 1982; Hughey, 1983; Kerlinger, 1984; Maddox and Lilie, 1984).

8. Traditional conservatives believe in a stable society. The traditional conservative argues that maintaining social stability is dependent upon retaining long-standing customs and traditions which provide meaning to the life of every individual (Harbour, 1982; Hughey, 1983; Kerlinger, 1984; Maddox and Lilie, 1984; Scruton, 1984).

9. With traditional conservatives placing a high value on order, who determines this order is an important matter. Basic theocentric and associated values must be sustained by

certain natural born leaders. There is an elitist orientation to traditional conservativism, espousing the view that only the most "qualified" individuals should guide societies (Harbour, 1982; Kerlinger, 1984; Maddox and Lilie, 1984).

10. Traditional conservatives tend to hold a nostalgic predisposition toward small-scale social relationships and the concept of decentralization. Starting from the primary social unit of the family to local political structures, traditional conservatives are apprehensive about administrative and political centralization (Harbour, 1982; Hughey, 1983).

THE SYNTHESIS INTO NEOCONSERVATISM

Although Edmund Burke was resurrected in the late twentieth-century as a legitimate proponent of traditional conservative political philosophy, a more astute analysis reveals that he was anything but a monolithic conservative. Quite the contrary, a survey of Burke's complete volume of works yield different conclusions; he was also a proud spokesman for some very "liberal" principles of his era. Macpherson (1980, pp.3-4), along with others (Morley, 1867, 1879; Buckle, 1871, p.467; Laski, 1920), view Burke as being of two minds, espousing both liberal utilitarianism and traditionalism. John Morley (1867, 1879), a legitimate political spokesman of his era, viewed Burke as a "liberal constitutionalist" whose writings about the French Revolution were mere aberrations. Harold Laski (1920) appreciated Burke's liberal utilitarianism, though being more cautious when viewing Burke's undemocratic tendencies.

Edmund Burke was the first proponent of neoconservative thought, trapped in the wrong era. Burke embraced, all at once, the laissez-faire economic doctrine circulated by liberal utilitarians, along with the traditionalism that is readily associated with his name. In espousing free market principles along with tradition and order, Burke's political position received some new-born popularity in the late twentieth-century (Macpherson, 1980). Although a cohesive neoconservative movement cannot be positively identified until the late 1970s, political spokespersons, seen in their era as being confused between liberal and conservative principles, have exhibited bits and pieces of political jargon and rhetoric now identified as neoconservative doctrine.

A synthesis of biological models may best explain how classical liberal and traditional conservative positions became more compatible. The organic conservatism approach to societal systems was also a popular movement among intellectuals of Burke's era and afterwards. In organic conservatism, society was seen as a biological whole dependent upon the functioning of its constituent units, of course, some parts or components were seen as more important than others. Priorities such as hierarchy and social privilege were justified because of the importance of some segments over others to the operation of the whole system. Coincidentally, many classical liberals were mouthing a Social Darwinist approach, a belief in Darwin's theory of evolution as having some applicability to the social setting. The social order could be justified in terms of natural selection and survival of the fittest in the marketplace.

Therefore, it can be seen that the traditional conservative and classical liberal positions were not as diametrically opposed as political philosophers suggested in their writings. The biological models applied to the social context by both traditional conservatives and classical liberals allowed for a corresponding political doctrine espoused by neoconservatives in the twentieth-century.

Neoconservatism has incorporated many of the principles advocated by classical liberals; however, differences are also readily apparent. In general terms, neoconservatives have incorporated both traditionalism and classical liberalism with a few idiosyncratic modifications. As a matter of definition, the union of traditional conservatism and classical liberalism under the neoconservative umbrella is both a unifying and destabilizing condition. Some of the unifying characteristics lie in traditional conservatism's adoption of laissez-faire economic doctrine early in the century. On the other hand, a primary destabilizing factor has been the collective-individual dimension supported by traditional conservativism and classical liberalism respectively.

Comparing the principles of classical liberalism and neoconservatism must be done with an awareness of the internal conflict manifested in neoconservative movements today. The concept of individualism, as a result, is a contentious issue for neoconservatives; in economic matters a "rugged individualism" is embraced while, in social issues, family is the primary unit. Therefore, neoconservatives propagate individualism but with some qualifications.

Neoconservatives and classical liberals agree on a limited role for government but not for the same reasons. Whereas classical liberals feel that governments encroach upon individual initiatives, neoconservatives, in addition to this sentiment retain some of the traditional conservative skepticism about the ability of human organizations to solve human conditions. Neoconservatives also see the necessity of government in maintaining order and providing authority for those needing direction.

Typically, neoconservatives would also be wary of classical liberalism's carte blanche acceptance of freedom of speech and behaviour. Again, the traditionalism borrowed from a by-gone era would limit the degree to which neoconservatives would thoroughly advocate freedoms. Such behaviours as freedom of speech and expression are tempered by the pursuit of order, stability, and gradual change by neoconservatives of this decade.

Neoconservatives are perhaps the first cohesive group to have weathered the social democratic "storm" aimed at establishing equality of condition in the late 1960s and early 1970s. They were the first unified force to come out publicly in favour of inequalities. By definition, neoconservatives believe inequalities motivate people in a competitive market. Classical liberals also expressed concerns about equality before the law; however, neoconservatives have provided an add-on with the equality of opportunity principle. In the educational sphere, neoconservatives view the equality of opportunity principle as providing for a meritocratic social order. Equality of condition, however, would only make for a disenchanted, lazy population.

Democratic representation, venerated in the late stages of classical liberalism is also shared by neoconservatives. Suspicious caution is an adequate description of the neoconservative attitude towards a society that is "too-democratic." There is a definite feeling amongst neoconservatives that the "masses" (Steinfels, 1979) can have a negative influence on the good of society as a whole.

The belief that the masses are easily misguided and/or deluded is commonplace in neoconservative circles.

Classical liberal doctrine has been modified and adapted by liberals of this century. Ideological divisions within liberalism, as a result, emerged during the early twentieth-century. Business liberalism emerged with its roots in the laissez-faire economics of classical liberal doctrine. Welfare liberalism was more willing to accept the restrictions of economic liberties through government regulation (Christian and Campbell, 1983, p.36).

Those liberals (business liberals and libertarians) who promote the view that government expenditures should be reduced have found themselves concurring with conservatives who distrust centralized decision-making evidenced in expanding governmental activities. In addition, conservatives who were traditional in their social values found themselves having more and more in common with political groups that espoused laissez-faire economics. Since socially-conservative proponents were connected with groups who believe in the natural inequality of persons, the move to lessen government intrusion in the distribution of economic wealth was on.

Liberalism has had a profound impact on the doctrine propagated by modern conservatives. Although modern conservatives have adopted some of the liberal political and economic thinking, they remain steadfast in their opposition to secular reasoning. It seems that they defend the benefits of modernity in the West (Harbour, 1982, p.181) and, in addition, they defend the values and traditions modern society has undermined.

Harbour (1982) contends that modern conservatives have diverted their attention from political and economic issues to that of personal existence:

> On a personal level Conservatism implies that the individual should try to cultivate a life based on devotion to God, family life, love, friendship, spiritual fellowship among individuals, in short, that personal conduct should be based on what was earlier termed theocentric humanism. (p.183)

It is interesting, then, to see how modern conservatives modified and adapted traditional conservatism to the socio-political realities of the day. As a result, modified versions of both classical liberalism and traditional conservatism can be found in ideologies that today are gaining popular currency.

A synthesis was facilitated by the view that Keynesian policies were to blame for the fiscal crisis of the 1960s and 1970s; both liberals and conservatives jumped on the bandwagon in exclaiming that government overspending was the cause. Change invoked by activists regarding participation and rights was replaced by a return to traditional values such as authority and obedience (Resnick, 1982, p.133). Generally, the conservative response to the economic crisis of the 1970s was to roll back the growth of government and free specific aspects of the individual's life from control and regulation. Here one can see modern conservatism's union with classical liberal principles. Rhetoric from conservative quarters echoed a disdain for the erosion of property rights; demanded a reduction in the public sector; increases in the influence of the private sector; and the reduction of intervention by governments into individual affairs. The neoconservative movement, fully recognized by the late 1970s, was seen as a primary factor in the election of right-wing governments in western democracies. The rhetoric of these administrations was "reduce taxes, slow the growth of federal spending, reduce government regulation of business, and decentralize political authority" (Harbour, 1982, p.185).

In many ways neoconservatives have been labelled as liberals trying to preserve their heritage from attacks mounted by the radicals (Steinfels, 1979). However, this view neglects their attachment to socially-conservative groups. Without the support of the latter who were appalled by the so-called "loose morals" observed in the 1970s, neoconservatism would not have been the pervasive movement it is today. Deeply ingrained social values do not disappear easily; they may be reordered on the priority list to allow for social change, but a backlash or swing of the pendulum will often reaffirm them. The social and economic conditions of the late 1970s and the 1980s brought out this neoconservatism.

NEOCONSERVATISM IN CANADA

Much of what distinguishes Canada from the United States is found in a more tradition-conscious populous. The classical liberalism embraced in the United States during 18th-century was partially rejected by many of those fleeing the upheaval of the American Revolution--the Loyalists (Christian and Campbell, 1983). Socially-conservative Anglophones coupled with religiously-conservative Francophones made for a distinctly conservative Northern neighbor who braced itself against the onslaught of classical liberalism to the south. In addition, Horowitz (1968) and Laxer (1989) claim, the initial preference of Canadians for maintaining links with Britain was indicative of an inherent conservatism (Laxer,1989):

> ...such well-known features of Canadian history as the absence of a lawless individualistic-egalitarian American frontier, the preference for Britain rather than the U.S. as a societal model, and generally, the weaker emphasis on social equality, the greater acceptance by individuals of the facts of economic inequality, social stratification, and hierarchy... (p.38)

In many ways, Canadian history and politics allowed for the growth of a neoconservative movement in the twentieth-century. Even more than in the United States, there existed conditions in the Canadian experience for a synthesis of classical liberal and traditional conservative thought. Partial rejection of the American form of clasical liberalism along with a solid basis of traditional conservative values manifest in British traditions (i.e., the empire and the monarchy) allowed for a unique Canadian socio-political context.

Regarding socialism, neoconservatives have directly or indirectly, labelled socialistic principles as unrealistic and undesirable. Neoconservative support of the status quo in social and economic relations, through classical liberal and traditional conservative principles, has allowed no room for ideas spawned through socialistic reasoning. Socialistic tendencies being part of egalitarian ideologies, do not fit neoconservative ends, where citizens compete fiercely for an unequal outcome. Although neoconservatives have rejected socialistic principles, some communal values associated with socialism have been observed in statements made by political parties labelled "Conservative" or "Liberal." Certainly, a review of Canadian, and indeed Western Canadian politics would be inadequate without taking account of the growth of socialism and socialistic principles.

Canada's unique conservatism (beginning with the Loyalists as discussed earlier) also precipitated a socialist demand for equality (Christian and Campbell, 1983, p.138). Essentially, socialist views of equality were developed as extensions of liberal values such as equality of opportunity. Collectivist notions espoused by traditional conservatives allowed for the advent of trade unions and farmers' cooperatives. Therefore, combinations of collectivism and egalitarianism allowed for the creation of a Canadian socialism (Christian and Campbell, 1983, p.138).

Following World War I socialism became popular in other parts of the world but it was only during the Depression years of the 1930s that a democratic socialism movement gained a foothold on the Canadian scene (Avakumovic, 1978). Socialism in Canada has always been a fringe movement infiltrating other political movements, but never sustaining a unified attack on mainstream ideologies. In western Canada, socialist qualities were cultivated mainly in farmers' groups discontented with the status quo of the social and economic order. Farmers' cooperatives and government assistance for cyclical hardships in farming became commonplace in governments in western Canada that would otherwise speak of the virtues of an unfettered marketplace.

In Alberta and other western provinces, the same farmers that fought endlessly to retain their cooperatives had performed an ideological about-face and subscribe to political parties calling for less government intrusion. Many of the principles discussed as being classical liberal or traditional conservative in origin can be evidenced in statements made by the Alberta Progressive Conservative Party and are staunchly defended by the same farmers that extoll the virtues of cooperatives.

A synthesis of divergent socio-political thought, however, cannot occur without some overt conflict on the public stage. Struggles between groups who propagate classical liberal or traditional conservative doctrine sometimes provide the basis for such conflict (Christian and Campbell, 1983):

> ...a long history in Canada, from the rebellion of 1837 to the vacillations of the Trudeau government in the early 1980s between conservative monetarism and liberal Keynesianism. (p.44)

So, in many cases contemporary issues can be viewed as a manifestation of a deeper ideological conflict.

The so-called "swing to the right" in Canadian attitudes evidenced in the late 1970s and the whole decade of the 1980s made some important statements about the trends of the 1960s and early 1970s. First, some of the concessions made with regard to social stability (i.e., minority group rights, womens issues, and freedom of sexual expression issues, etc.) were not as widely supported as some were led to believe. Calls for more restraint by socially-conservative or morally-conscious groups continued in this era but took as back seat to social activists who promoted more "open" and "tolerant" stances. Secondly, economic instability caused major shifts of both capital and resources. And in times of crisis, people tend to reflect upon tradition in a nostalgic, euphoric sense. Thirdly, population trends revealed two major changes: demographics revealed an aging population and baby-boomers were establishing families and homes. None of these conditions alone could have precipitated a neoconservative trend in Canadian attitudes and politics. However, taken together they provided the catalyst for a new synthesis of political ideology.

Further explication of this synthesis into neoconservative ideology can be provided by examining some popular rhetoric. Neoconservative movements in Canada have been propagating a number of familiar political statements. Individualism as opposed to any collectivist notion of social planning is viewed by neoconservatives as a primary element; opposition to the redistribution of wealth to maintain a welfare state and its associated interventionist roles (for this would require taxes); and a defence of the moral order in social affairs which leads them to claiming to be more democratic than their political opponents. An amalgamation of these viewpoints has "contributed to the electoral victories of the New Right in the U.S., Britain and Canada." (Resnick, 1982, p.139)

Complex social issues tend to be given simple solutions by neoconservatives. Indeed, they propose easy solutions to problems that have been the source of continual conflict over the past few decades. Neoconservatives rely on compliance by citizens with these prescriptions communicated by specified authorities. Patricia Marchak (1988) describes the neoconservative tendency to prescribe simple solutions as follows:

> economic decline in these countries is caused by greedy unions and overgrown governments. The solution: attack unions and dismantle governments. It argues that there are too many freeloaders on the welfare systems. It argues that children are not properly cared for, and that uncared-for children are the cause of juvenile delinquency and social problems. The simple solution:oblige woman to stay home and care for children. Women are also responsible for broken families, high divorce rates, and numerous other social evils. The simple solution:prevent women from leaving husbands by cutting off all alternative sources of income. It argues that there are too many chiefs and not enough followers. The solution for this is to limit higher education to a few and decrease offerings that do not obviously lead to increased wealth, such as the social sciences and the arts. (p.195)

In British Columbia, for example, the Fraser Institute (1982) (known as a Right-wing think tank) and a cabinet minister agreed on the statement that, "Having programs in support of single mothers causes mothers to be single and need support."

Although some of what neoconservative movements present as solutions appears on the surface as viable, political opponents argue that these issues are too complex for carte blanche formulas. What is also interesting to note is how these simple solutions are rooted in a basic premise of classical liberalism or traditional conservatism, which does not appear on the surface. Marchak's comment reveals the occurrence of classical liberalism and traditional conservatism in neoconservative ideology: the classical liberal belief that the failure of an individual is a result of one's inability to take advantage of opportunities coupled with traditional conservative support for strict social roles for women.

The anti-egalitarianism supported by neoconservatives of the 1980s was a reversal of the rhetoric delivered by social democrats of the 1970s. Part of the solution to social inequality presented by the latter was to provide for increased educational opportunities. Equality of opportunity in education is a principle held by most political movements in Canada; however, some believe that the swing towards neoconservatism has even threatened this principle. Norm Goble (1981) claims that neoconservatives would prefer an elitist school system:

> victims of the old, elitist, selective school system to which many of the advocates of neo-conservatism want us to go back. (p.53)

The traditional conservative veneration of the family unit comes through in neoconservatism's call for a reinstatement of the family. Marchak (1988) argues that neoconservatives see women demanding state services because the state provides them, rather than meeting a bona fide need (p.191). In addition, neoconservatives see families as being overtaxed therefore forcing women to work outside the home. Taxation is blamed for women not being able to meet family responsibilities (Nozick, 1974).

Neoconservatives seem to be able to jump from complex social issues into economics without missing a step. Neoconservatives have also pushed for an unfettered marketplace, free from government intrusion and regulations. For in their view the private sector will more appropriately allocate resources in an efficient and effective manner. Since government intrusion creates an artificial economy, such actions must be limited to prevent economic chaos. The free flow of capital and other resources must be allowed to make this system work, the laws of supply and demand will ensure appropriate allocations.

With Canada's resource-based industrial policy, neoconservatives argue that we must not subsidize industries that do not stand the test of the market. Canadians must allow the market to readjust to the cyclical changes that occur in a primary industry economy. In Marchak's (1988) view, neoconservatives have been relatively successful at disseminating their views regarding the market and, hence, have pushed interventionist political groups into submission:

> Social democrats find themselves on the defensive against a market ideology which would turn all goods, services, and people into commodities, and reduce the democratic constraints on corporate behaviour. A population seeking social change and moral renewal is tempted by an ideology which calls them to restrain their instincts, curb their instincts, curb their demands for equality, and obey "natural leaders." (p.199)

The neoconservative agenda would have a new social contract written such that the government's role in the economy and society would be minimized. Self-help and restraint are the values promulgated by neoconservatives. It is clear though, that the doctrine endorsed by neoconservatives must be taken in the context of whether these are values that can be supported or rejected by voters. Nevitte and Gibbons concur (1984):

> dimensions of neoconservatism; its opponents link it to a variety of noxious social attitudes while its proponents defend it in the language of cherished, though often ambiguous, democratic values such as freedom. (p.384)

With the wide range of political discourse that neoconservatism claims as its "roots," Canadian neoconservatism is difficult to "nail down" within strict boundaries. A reliance on the market model in the economic sphere coupled with a return to traditional social values of authority and hierarchy, however, are general themes in any Canadian variation of neoconservatism.

Nevitte and Gibbons (1984) found some distinguishing characteristics of neoconservatism evidenced in Canada. They found that neoconservatives are significantly more likely to blame poverty on the poor rather than on structural relationships in Canadian society (p.391). Further findings suggesting that governments should take less responsibility for the unemployed (p.392). Neoconservatives were generally viewed as less sympathetic to less advantaged groups in Canadian society (Nevitte and Gibbons, 1984):

> The 'rugged individualism' of neoconservatives translates into a weaker commitment to the use of government to promote or protect disadvantaged groups, such as racial minorities or women, in the workplace. (p.392)

Although Nevitte and Gibbons (1984) found neoconservatives less willing to permit lesbians or homosexuals to actually teach in public schools, their "right" to teach was endorsed by nearly 70%. This finding, however, is not in line with findings about the social beliefs in American society (pp.392-393).

In general, Canadian neoconservatives tend to take a hard line in international defence issues, which is similar to British and American variations. Relations with foreign governments are seen mainly in the light of needing to protect certain interests against intrusions of these foreign powers. A neoconservative foreign policy stance has sometimes been referred to being akin to "institutional paranoia. As part of an overall international policy, militarism also has found a home within neoconservative circles.

Neoconservatism is certainly not a unidimensional mode of socio-political thought. Its potential influence and implications for affecting the way we govern our lives goes beyond what we term as politics per se. Its ideology providing simple answers to complex social issues, is disturbing to many; therefore, a thorough review of its political and philosophical basis seems useful. Nevitte and Gibbons (1984) echo this sentiment:

> to equate neoconservatism with narrow self-interested support for the business community greatly understates both the complexity and the potential impact of this ideology on the direction of Canadian public policy.

> The horizons of neoconservatism are not limited to perspectives on the economy; opposition to government intervention applies to both the economic and social domains since neoconservatives believe that government intervention is as often as not a cure worse than the disease. (p.393)

Although neoconservatism promotes an image of grassroots concern and support, Steinfels (1979) and others claim that their agenda is anything but "grassroots." They have some very interested and large corporate backers. The ability of neoconservative ideology to affect public policy at all levels, therefore, is not an entirely new concept; however, further exploration in this study will determine whether it has infiltrated Alberta Education policy documents.

SUMMARY

Some considerations in the development of neoconservatism have been provided above. How the concept of neoconservative ideology has been manifested in the Canadian socio-political context has been explored. Determining the appropriate technique to explore the prevalence of neoconservatism in the specific context of Alberta Education is the goal of Chapter Three.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

A brief history and explanation of content analysis as a scientific methodology will be provided in this chapter. How this method provides an appropriate empirical analysis to the question at hand is then discussed. Further, an explanation of the appropriateness of the research design; specifically, the sample chosen, the thematic analysis, and the nominal scale is supplied.

Three ideological categories will be tested when referring to the sample data; Classical Liberalism, Traditional Conservatism, and OTHER. OTHER will serve as the label for all other ideologies, some of which will be discussed in further detail. Nine thematic units will be defined and operationalized as indicators of the aforementioned ideologies; Profit Enterprise, Individualism, Human Condition, Equality, Family, Authority, Government, Tradition, and Other.

CONTENT ANALYSIS

Content analysis is not a new technique. Some proponents (Krippendorff, 1980; Holsti, 1969; Carney, 1979) claim that some form of content analysis has been in existence since the eighteenth-century, however, the systemic and scientific use of content analysis as a research technique is claimed to be only fifty years old (Krippendorff, 1980, p.9).

Part of its original appeal and development stems from its versatility in different settings. Some of the early studies focussed on the analysis of newspaper content (Loebl, 1903; Weber, 1911) while others emphasized a thematic analysis of established literary works (Markov, 1913; Walworth, 1938). In more recent times content analysis has extended to other-than-written forms of communication. Some examples of such forms include the study of television programs, paintings and other art, and international patterns of values manifested in verbal and non-verbal communication.

Some view content analysis as an extension of the study of communication. Historically, the importance of communications research attained a new level of credibility when applied to the conditions of World War II. It was during this war-time period that scientists and decision-makers began to agree on the validity of communication studies. Propaganda analyses conducted during World War II by the Institute for Propaganda Analysis (1937) gave this method a permanent place in the repertoire of social science methodologies.

Propaganda analysis (a form of content analysis) that gained widespread attention and approval when Axis' media documents were exposed as employing devious tactics in influencing opinions of their citizens. Propagandists were typified as probable users of techniques such as "name calling," using "glittering generalities," "plainfolks" identifications, "card stacking," and "band wagon" devices (Krippendorff, 1980, p.16).

Content analysis is a dynamic field that is constantly changing. Therefore, a definition is needed to add coherence to the technique being used in this study. The definition used by Berelson (1952) seems to be the most appropriate:

> Content analysis is any technique for making inferences by subjectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages. (p.14)

In general, much of what content analysis attempts to unveil is supposedly not apparent. It is through this systematic, scientific approach that new determinations and conclusions can be drawn.

A content analysis framework involves three distinct features (Krippendorff, 1980, p.26): prescriptive, analytical, and methodological. The framework should be prescriptive in that it guides the conceptualization and the design of the content analysis for the particular situation, it should be analytical to the extent that it allows for critical examination of other content analyses, and it should be methodological in that it should add to the accumulated knowledge and improvement of methods for content analysis.

The boundaries within which a content analysis is employed must be made explicit. What constitutes relevant data should be a primary consideration for the researcher. Whether it is a book, series of documents, lectures, or interactions, the researcher must be clear where the data boundaries are located. In addition, the context in which the data spawn must be explicated. Without a description of the relevant context in which a document was produced, the researcher deprives the reader of some of the most important information. The conclusions drawn from the production of documents during different epochs, for example, can vary greatly. Therefore, it is essential that both the researcher and readers of a content analysis have background knowledge of the context and its relevant issues. In addition, the inferences to be drawn from the data are an important component. The question, "How do the characteristics found in the data tell us more about the relationships manifest in the phenomena?", must be answered. After unveiling idiosyncratic information through content analysis, the researcher must diligently place this information back into the framework of the study.

Content analysis is only one of a variety of research techniques currently being employed by social scientists. To determine which method will prove the most efficient and effective for the researcher to understand the problem, an assessment of the relative advantages and disadvantages must be undertaken. Krippendorff (1980) has provided four distinct advantages of using content analysis: (1) Content analysis is unobtrusive--social scientists have been displeased with the results of some research methods that introduce errors caused by the method being employed. Observation techniques become less effective when the researcher impacts upon the data by making subjective judgments by virtue of "being there" or by causing subjects who are aware that they are being observed to alter their behaviour. Techniques such as experiments, interviews, questionnaires, and projective tests have been plagued by interactional effects. On the other hand, content analysis is, in most cases, nonreactive or unobtrusive.

(2) Content analysis can incorporate unstructured material--data is not necessarily forced into the restrictive conceptual categories designated by the researcher. Since most content analyses are performed on data written without the knowledge of being intensely scrutinized through research methods, it remains generally unstructured or "pure." Later, the researcher may decide to categorize some concepts for the sake of coherence but the original analysis can deal with "raw" data.

(3) Content analysis is "context sensitive" and able to process symbolic forms. Unlike other research techniques, content analysis is able to retain much of the symbolic meaningfulness other techniques fail to capture. Because content analysis processes "raw" data that has not been

generated through other research techniques, some of the contextual and symbolic meaning is retained. The impact that contextually-specific symbolic forms have for the actors in any given situation can be lost under experimental conditions and information retrieval procedures. Without accounting for the symbolic nature of any communication, research methods can eliminate the substantive qualities most important to the investigation.

(4) Content analysis can be applied to large volumes of data--initial applications of content analysis involved large volumes of data. Being able to incorporate large amounts of data is useful but the more important factor is that content analysis is flexible enough to deal with varying amounts of data. Different problems or questions require varying amounts and kinds of data; it is helpful to know that content analysis, in many cases, can process these variable conditions. In addition, sequential or tiered content analysis can examine a complex question involving varying amounts of data.

One disadvantage includes persistent skepticism about the efficacy of content analysis. With concepts and categories being defined by one investigator or a group of researchers, some social scientists claim that no objectivity can be salvaged and content analysis does not provide any useful, new insights. Most criticism of a content analysis, however, also can be leveled at other research approaches: problems of replicability, inference, reliability, and validity. Are the concepts applied consistently throughout the study? Do the inferences made from the findings "fit" with the theoretical framework and the real world? Would other researchers find the same things in the data? However, these methodological questions must be posed with respect to any type of research.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to ascertain the extent to which neoconservativism is evidenced in Alberta Education policy documents. There are several research methods that would be appropriate to this task. Interviews as well as questionnaires would probably reveal interesting patterns. However, the nature of the problem being studied suggests that the most efficient and effective research method would involve content analysis of Alberta Education documents. Since a coherent source of attitudes, values and political ideologies can be found in policy documents (Krippendorff, 1970), there is no need to search for additional information resources.

Some of the advantages of content analysis listed previously apply to this study. Data accessibility is an important issue when undertaking research of this magnitude. The data for this study are readily accessible through the published documents without contamination through interactional effects common to interviews, observation, and the like. In many cases, documentary evidence is more verifiable than other methods. In other words, the Chinese proverb applies (Webb et al., 1966), "The palest ink is clearer than the best memory." (p.111)

Other research methods such as questionnaires and interviews in conjunction with content analysis, would undoubtedly provide a more powerful analysis. However, it is clear from the purposes and scope of this research that a content analysis of available documents will provide an adequate analysis of ideologies.

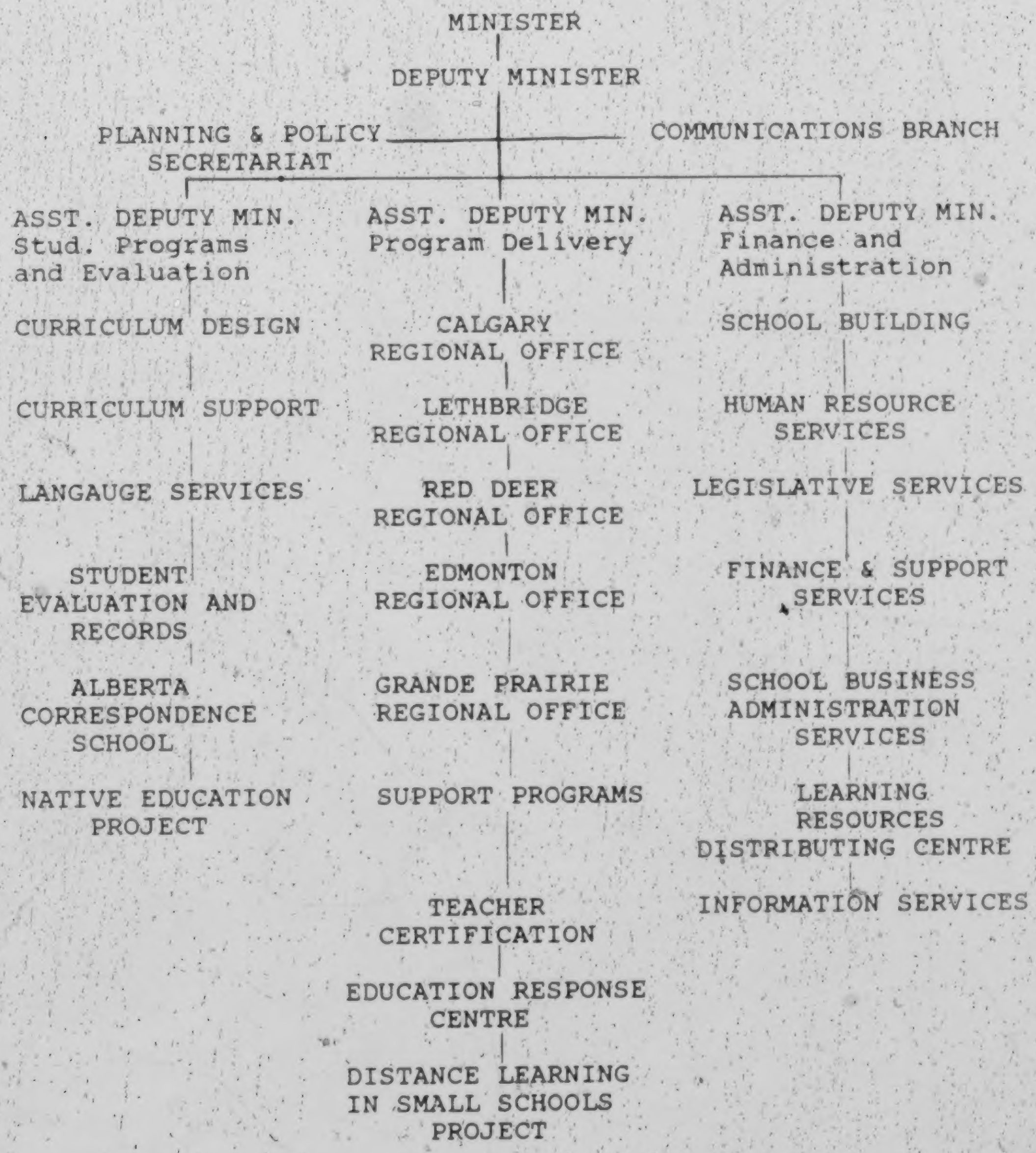
Being a large complex organization, it is highly unlikely that Alberta Education will be found to be an ideologically homogeneous institution, moreover, blends of different ideologies embedded in Alberta Education can yield different "messages." Overall, it is hypothesized that traditionally-based ideologies (such as classical liberalism and traditional conservatism) fostered in the Canadian context in general, and Alberta in particular, exert the most influence on the production of ideology found in Alberta Education policy documents.

THE SAMPLE

An examination of the Alberta Education organizational chart (see Figure 1) shows how the Planning and Policy Secretariat, in conjunction with the Communications Branch establishes and articulates priorities and directions for the rest of the organization. The Planning and Policy Secretariat's exclusive mandate is to highlight issues considered important to the Department of Education. For this reason, the Planning and Policy Secretariat documents are seen as singularly important for the purposes of this study. Directly or indirectly, the Planning and Policy Secretariat affects what is defined as valuable knowledge for Alberta students, what types of hierarchy are legitimated in educational structures and what programs survive the "test of objective criteria."

In deciding which documents from the Planning and Policy Secretariat would be earmarked for a content analysis, several relevant factors were used. First, because the concept of neoconservatism was developed by a cohesive movement of spokespersons only during the mid-to-late 1970s, there was a "lag time" of influence on different western societies i,e,, United States, Britain, Canada, etc. With much of the neoconservative voice emerging from American and British ideologues, the primary tenets did not gain currency in Alberta until the end of the 1970s. Along with the "lag time" between nationalistic boundaries, institutional boundaries, also filter ideologies until they become as commonplace in institutional discussions (i.e. policy

FIGURE 1: ALBERTA EDUCATION ORGANIZATIONAL CHART


MINISTER
DEPUTY MINISTER
PLANNING & POLICY SECRETARIAT
COMMUNICATIONS BRANCH
ASST. DEPUTY MIN. Stud. Programs and Evaluation
ASST. DEPUTY MIN. Program Delivery
ASST. DEPUTY MIN. Finance and Administration
CURRICULUM DESIGN
CURRICULUM SUPPORT
LANGAUGE SERVICES
STUDENT EVALUATION AND RECORDS
ALBERTA CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOL
NATIVE EDUCATION PROJECT
CALGARY REGIONAL OFFICE
LETHBRIDGE REGIONAL OFFICE
RED DEER REGIONAL OFFICE
EDMONTON REGIONAL OFFICE
GRANDE PRAIRIE REGIONAL OFFICE
SUPPORT PROGRAMS
TEACHER CERTIFICATION
EDUCATION RESPONSE CENTRE
DISTANCE LEARNING IN SMALL SCHOOLS PROJECT
SCHOOL BUILDING
HUMAN RESOURCE SERVICES
LEGISLATIVE SERVICES
FINANCE & SUPPORT SERVICES
SCHOOL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION SERVICES
LEARNING RESOURCES DISTRIBUTING CENTRE
INFORMATION SERVICES

(Alberta Education, Eighty-Third Annual Report 1987-88) documents) as they have become in the political realm.

Secondly, institutional documents do not develop in isolation nor out of thin air; in many cases, policy documents reflect a synthesis of ideas developed in previous years. In this case, it is expected that three years is reasonable. That is, documents produced in 1986 reflect the influence of political ideologies prominent during the years 1983-1986 inclusively.

Finally, the impending currency of the problem dictates an analysis of recent documents. If anything, neoconservatism is seen to be gaining more force in a variety of socio-political settings. Therefore, an analysis of current documents reflects a current phenomenon. Taking all of these factors into consideration, it seems most appropriate that the Planning and Policy Secretariat documents of 1986-1989 (ninety-eight in all, see Appendix I) should be the focus of this study. A representative sample of these documents has been chosen for the purposes of this study. The criterion of inclusion is that the documents address broad educational policy areas. Not all documents produced by the Planning and Policy Secretariat are sufficiently general to suit the purposes of this study; therefore, those that cover broad concerns of the overall organization seem appropriate. Eight documents were found to meet this criteria as displayed in Figure 2.

THEMATIC UNITS

In any content analysis, establishing a framework or research design requires a major decision with respect to the quantity-quality issue. Holsti (1969), one of the original proponents of content analysis, states that:

> The quantitative requirement has often been cited as essential to content analysis, both by those who praise the technique as more scientific than other methods of documentary analysis and by those who are most critical of content analysis. (p.5)

Following strictly quantitative techniques usually yield benefits in reliability and replicability; however, validity may often suffer through narrowly defined concepts. It seems that the more abstract the concepts of study, the less effective a strictly quantitative analysis will be.

Political ideologies are very "slippery" concepts that can easily escape standard categorization. For instance, a word count of the term "business" would only prove marginally valid. Questions would arise such as, "How is the ownership typified?"; "What sort of benefits are valued?" In the context of this study, therefore, a combination of qualitative and quantitative techniques will be employed.

In general, a thematic analysis will be used to discern common themes and value statements embedded in the context in which they occur. Recording the mere existence of a theme will not suffice, especially since differing political ideologies address the same themes but with a nuance in emphasis. In addition, where themes are revealed, a frequency table will be developed to provide analysis of the prevalence of one ideology over another. For example, if "Family" is discussed in the documents, is it introduced in a favourable sense and if so of which ideology is this tendency indicative? Overall patterns will emerge as to the prevalence of certain ideologies in addition to some information about the idiosyncratic form.

Specified "thematic units" will aid the study in highlighting categories of content that are most often found in the rhetoric of political ideologies. To add comprehension to the term "thematic units," Krippendorff (1980) has provided a definition appropriate to this study:

> They are identified by their correspondence to a particular structural definition of the content of narratives, explanations, or interpretations. They are distinguished from each other on conceptual grounds and exclude irrelevant material by their possessing the desired structural properties. (p.62)

As Krippendorff (1980) suggests, thematic units provide information about the structural properties of a document; for instance, most writing is built around a theme(s) thus providing information about the values being communicated. Thematic units have been used in studying folklore (Thompson, 1932), patterns of authority (Katz et al., 1967), in addition to sexist and racist themes (Council for Interracial Books for Children, 1977).

The identified thematic units (see Table 1), when appearing in their commonly occurring forms, generally represent values propagated by ideologues of the classical liberal or traditional conservative persuasion. In most studies of attitudes, values, predispositions, or the like, direction categories (Holsti, 1969) are used to summarize the author's treatment of a topic(s). The direction categories employed in this study will be rated on the three-point nominal scale variety as shown below:

FAVOURABLE-----------------NEUTRAL--------------UNFAVOURABLE

The smallest focus of analysis for the thematic unit will be a complete statement or sentence. Some studies have used other grammatical-units for an analysis; for instance, single words, sentences, paragraphs, chapters, even whole texts. Usually the larger the unit, the more variability found in emphases, resulting in substandard information as to the values held by the author(s). If a single word was used, the conclusions would be considered highly dubious since many would make "out-of-context" claims. Therefore, using a complete statement or sentence strikes a useful compromise in establishing what values are being communicated. There will be circumstances, however, where it will be apparent that a sentence contains more than one theme. In these cases, each discernable theme will count as one score towards the appropriate theme. In most cases, the purposes of the study can be fulfilled through the isolation of a statement or sentence; however, if the context is inconclusive then a further expansion will be required, perhaps to a qualifying statement or an additional sentence to establish categorization.

The thematic units to be employed in the analysis of the Planning and Policy Secretariat documents are listed in Table 1. These units have been chosen because they are clearly developed and documented in the political ideologies of classical liberalism and traditional conservatism. Not all references made in the sample documents, however, will address one of the eight specified thematic units. Therefore, an "Other" thematic unit will be established and tabulated as well. The ambiguous nature of these themes permits them only to be categorized only under OTHER ideologies.

OPERATIONALIZATION OF THEMATIC UNITS

Table 1 provides a list of the nine thematic units being used in this study. Profit enterprise, Individualism, Human condition, Equality, Family, Authority, Government, Tradition, and Other will be used in the study.

Profit enterprise is defined as any economic activity in which benefits or profits accrue mainly to an individual or group of individuals on the basis of private ownership rather than public ownership or socialized ownership where benefits accrue to a collectivity or society. Profit enterprise is highly valued by classical liberals whereas traditional conservatives are more concerned with maintaining hierarchically structured "natural" relationships between the haves and the have-nots. To the extent that capitalists are part of the established order, traditional conservatives uphold and value the necessary societal structures that maintain current economic relationships. It is clear, however, that traditional conservatives--unlike classical liberals--do not see intrinsic value in the accumulation of profits.

Classical liberalism was complemented by laissez-faire economic doctrine during the 19th centruy. Entrepreneurs were needed to take risks with capital to create more wealth. In the analysis of Planning and Policy Secretariat documents, therefore, a favourable response to Profit

Enterprise would be indicative of classical liberal ideology. Consequently, a favourable score for Profit Enterprise would be given to the following sentence (Alberta Education; March, 1987):

> There may be a need for increased emphasis on entrepreneurial skills in the school curriculum. (p.10)

Mention of entrepreneurs or entreneurship, therefore, can be traced back to classical liberals such as Adam Smith (Macpherson, 1977). In addition, references to business or "management" objectives primarily reflects an adherence to private or profit enterprise concepts. Again, classical liberal ideology is seen as the principal progenitor of this "management" focus, where terms like "productivity" are seen as more appropriate to the assembly-line than the social context of education. An example of this type of reference in an Alberta Education policy document is as follows (March, 1987):

> The Department will have implemented a simple, but effective system to assess educational productivity and also will have assisted jurisdictions to manage fiscal restraint. (p.19)

Therefore, a statement such as this would yield a favourable score on Profit Enterprise.

Individualism is also a primary value in classical liberal ideology. John Stuart Mill (see Chapter 2), a classical liberal spokesman, venerated the development of individuals in acquiring and expanding skills and abilities,

TABLE 1: CATEGORIES OF ANALYSIS

IDEOLOGIES	THEMATIC UNITS
Classical Liberalism	Profit Enterprise
Traditional Conservatism	Individualism
OTHER	Human Condition
	Equality
	Family
	Authority
	Government
	Tradition
	Other

thus fulfilling the needs of the individuals as well as society overall. Making the giant leap from individual benefits to the good of society as a whole is exemplified in the following Alberta Education policy statement (April, 1987):

> Alberta Education also recognizes the importance of positive leadership by all members of the community and takes active steps to encourage these individuals. (p.3)

This statement would be scored as favourable to the theme of Individualism. Traditional conservatives, in contrast, approach individualism with caution because of other "higher natural principles." Emphasis on the individual must be valued, say traditional conservatives, but not over the theocentric belief in God.

"Equality" is as hard to define as "freedom." A context must be explored to explain what is meant by "Equality." In a classical liberal sense, equality is only valued insofar as the opportunity to be equal is provided, therefore, the growth of educational systems in unison with classical liberal ideology. Differential efforts and abilities inherent in a person's individuality justifies the natural inequality of outcome. For traditional conservatives, equality is relegated to a lesser status behind such values as hierarchy, authority, and order. A leading example of classical liberal ideology with respect to the equality issue is found in the following statement (Alberta Education; March, 1987):

> students in Alberta will have more equitable and improved access to quality educational opportunities. (p.18)

Thus, this statement would be tabulated as a favourable score on classical liberalism's typification of Equality. Human Condition is the third thematic unit to be employed against the data obtained from the sample. In many ways, classical liberals and traditional conservatives use their view of human condition as an underpinning of other conceptions they embrace. In other words, a large part of both classical liberal and traditional conservative conceptions of human condition are inherent in their other more complex principles.

John Stuart Mill and other classical liberals were instrumental in supplying an optimismistic view of the human condition. Personal development, acquisition of skills, and general improvement are highly valued principles of classical liberals (see Chapter 2). On the other hand, the traditional conservative belief in human nature is much more pessimistic. Traditional conservatives adhere to the belief that human nature is tragically flawed.

Family is also a leading value in traditional conservative ideology (see Chapter 2). In contrast, classical liberal ideology sees the family as valuable only insofar as it assists in the development of the individual. The maintenance of social structures that facilitate the perpetuation of traditional nuclear and extended family networks is promoted by traditional conservatives. The family is seen as essential to the development of a "good" community and society. The following statement provides an example of Alberta Education's stand on "Family" (Alberta Education; September 5, 1989):

> Recognizing the learning that has or has not occurred through various community influences, among which the home is most important, the school will strive to:... develop an appreciation for the role of the family in society (Document Number 08-01-01, p.1)

In this document several goals were listed under the first half as shown before the colon. The statement after the colon would be tabulated as one favourable score for Family (see Exhibit 1).

In a classical liberal system authority is vested in those who achieve and attain the position where decisions are made. In traditional conservative terms, some positions are intrinsically valued due to their ability to maintain other values close to the heart of traditional conservatives. Authoritarian structures, organizations, and positions are viewed by traditional conservatives as part of the "natural" order that leads to a stable society (see Chapter 2). Hierarchical relationships, overt force organizations such as police and military agencies are seen as important in the maintenance of order. An example of a favourable score on Authority is as follows (Alberta Education, July 20, 1987):

> Use of the words musr or will indicate mandatory items. For example, "school jurisdictions will monitor and

> evaluate ..." and "school jurisdictions will develop, keep current, and implement their policies, guidelines..." indicate mandatory actions. (p.ii)

Therefore, in this passage the traditional conservative view of authority being vested in the few, to be communicated as a matter of mandatory compliance is supported.

Classical liberals address government intervention only in the context of laissez-faire economics. They believe that a free market--free from government regulation or intrusion--will operate most efficiently and appropriately allocate scarce resources (see Chapter 2). Traditional conservatives believe in the government's right to intervene in the name of order and stability. Essentially, the difference between classical liberal and traditional conservative views of government is a matter of degree rather than being dichotomous. It becomes clear that on the value of government intervention, especially, a thematic analysis with a nominal scale is better suited to the data at hand. An example of an unfavourable score on Government can be viewed below (Alberta Education; March, 1987):

> There will be a reduction in the size of Alberta Education, and selected Departmental functions may be privatized. (p.15)

Lessened public demands on government's role in society translates into a "better" society in the classical liberal sense, allowing the market to appropriately allocate resources.

Tradition, dislike for change, reverence of stability, and a pessimism of man's ability to improve society is grounded in traditional conservative ideology (see Chapter 2). Classical liberals, however, have no need for tradition when their original premise hinged on "tearing down established institutions" to make way for the new class of entrepreneurs. A favourable score on Tradition would be given to the following statement (Alberta Education; September 5, 1989):

> Recognizing the learning that has or has not occurred through various community influences, among which the home is most important, the school will strive to:...develop an appreciation for tradition and the ability to understand and respond to change as it occurs in life and in society. (Document Number 08-01-01, p.1)

All data not fitting into the other thematic units will be tabulated as being part of the "Other" themes. Usually a central theme can be readily discerned from the data, howeer, in some cases lack of clarity means that categorization under "Other" themes is the best alternative. Data which is tabulated under the "Other" thematic unit will be grouped as part of OTHER ideologies.

SUMMARY

Previous discussions have provided justifications for the use of a content analysis of eight selected documents from the Planning and Policy Secretariat branch of Alberta Education. Through an appropriate content analysis of these eight documents, some conclusions can be made as to the extent to which neoconservatism influences Alberta Education policy.

A view of Table 1 provides a brief outline of the categories of analysis to be processed in Chapter Four. Findings from the data will provide information for the construction of frequency tables included in Chapter Five, thus enabling the research to reveal the prevalence of neoconservatism in Alberta Education.

CHAPTER FOUR: EXAMINATION OF SAMPLE DOCUMENTS

In this Chapter some explanations and examples of the coding procedure used on the sample data are supplied. In addition, brief descriptions of each document are provided as a context for the study.

A selection of policy documents produced by the Planning and Policy Secretariat has been chosen as the sample. Only those documents which cover broad policy issues qualify for the sample. Documents which articulate the central values of Alberta Education are of primary importance; it is beleived that specific combinations of these values or beliefs combine to form a particular political ideology. Appendix I lists all the policy documents produced by the Planning and Policy Secretariat between 1986-1989. A smaller sample of this collection of documents, according to the criteria explained earlier, reveals ten documents that qualify. However, two of these documents produced by the Planning and Policy Secretariat have been designated for internal use only and because they were not developed to determine public policy, they do not fit the purposes of this study. A title listing of all eight documents included in the sample is provided in Figure 2.

Although the sample was chosen according to a general,

FIGURE 2: TITLE LISTING OF SAMPLE DOCUMENTS

TITLE	Date of Production
(1) Program Policy Manual-1986	September, 1986
(2) Directions to 1990	March, 1987
(3) Alberta Education Core Values	April, 1987
(4) Program Policy Manual-1987	July, 1987
(5) Alberta Education Mission, Goals and Sub-Goals	April, 1988
(6) Education in Alberta: Some Major Educational Trends	June 1988 (Revised May,1989)
(7) Education in Alberta: Some Major Societal Trends	June 1988 (Revised May,1989)
(8) Program Policy Manual-1989	September, 1989

broad policy orientation, documents within the sample still differ greatly with regards to size, format, construction, purpose and context. The data, therefore, should reveal some interesting patterns that are indicative not only of the ideological thrust but the patterns established by the idiosyncratic nature of each document. The data will be analyzed in detail and a more in-depth statistical analysis will be undertaken in Chapter Five.

Use of the nominal scale in relation to identified thematic units will be explained in this Chapter. With respect to the theoretical discussions of Chapter Two, a breakdown is provided in Table 2 of the appropriate nominal scale scores for each thematic unit and its representative Ideology.

The mention of profit enterprise's role in education is enough indication of an inherent value being placed on private ownership and capital accumulation conceived in the classical liberal sense (see Chapter 2). Classical liberals favour the use of a laissez-faire market model in appropriately allocating resources, even in the social realm where education functions. Favourable references to the private sector or the use of private schools in providing a market for education will therefore be scored as favourable to a classical liberal conception of Profit Enterprise. In addition, favourable references to entreprennuership will be scored as favourable on the theme of Profit Enterprise. An

TABLE 2: NOMINAL SCORES IN RELATION TO IDEOLOGIES

THEMATIC UNITS	SCORES	APPROPRIATE IDEOLOGY
Profit Enterprise	Favourable	Classical Liberalism
	Unfavourable	OTHER
	Neutral	Traditional Conservatism
Individualism	Favourable	Classical Liberalism
	Unfavourable	OTHER
	Neutral	Traditional Conservatism
Human Condition	Favourable	Classical Liberalism
	Unfavourable	Traditional Conservatism
	Neutral	OTHER
Equality	Favourable	Classical Liberalism
	Unfavourable	Traditional Conservatism
	Neutral	OTHER
Authority	Favourable	Traditional Conservatism
	Unfavourable	OTHER
	Neutral	Classical Liberalism
Family	Favourable	Traditional Conservatism
	Unfavourable	OTHER
	Neutral	Classical Liberalism
Government	Favourable	OTHER
	Unfavourable	Classical Liberalism
	Neutral	Traditional Conservatism
Tradition	Favourable	Traditional Conservatism
	Unfavourable	Classical Liberalism
	Neutral	OTHER
Other	Neutral	OTHER

emphasis on the typical problems associated with profit enterprise will yield an unfavourable score on the Profit Enterprise thematic unit. Unfavourable scores on Profit Enterprise will indicate grounding in OTHER ideologies. One of the examples of an unfavourable score on Profit Enterprise is as follows (Alberta Education; June, 1988):

> Youth unemployment remains higher than the provincial rate, and youth will continue to have a 4 or 5 percentage points higher rate of unemployment. (p.65)

Unemployment is one of the pitfalls of a profit enterprise economy, therefore emphasis on umemployment will yield an unfavourable score on Profit Enterprise.

A neutral score on Profit Enterprise will be indicative of traditional conservatism. Advocation of profit enterprise by traditional conservatives is only achieved when other "higher" principles are included (see Chapter 2). If Profit Enterprise is placed in a context of contributing to morals or theocentric beliefs then it would be favoured by traditional conservatives. A neutral score, therefore, on Profit Enterprise will be indicative of traditional onservative ideology.

Individualism as a thematic unit would most often be associated with classical liberalism. In the raw data extracted from policy documents, emphasis on the individual as an important unit of consideration will yield a favourable score. A mentioned, classical liberals viewed the individual good as being synonymous with the social good. An example of such a favourable score is as follows (Alberta Education; July 20, 1987):

> The aim of the public education system is to develop the knowledge, skills and the positive attitudes of individuals so that they will be self-confident, capable and committed to setting goals, making choices and acting in ways that will improve their own lives and the life of their community. (p.I-5)

If the context provides evidence of the individual being only one unit of consideration then the thematic unit will be scored as neutral, for example (Alberta Education; March, 1987): "The way trends are perceived reflects the basic value orientations of individuals and organizations." A neutral score on Individualism will suggest reference to traditional conservative ideology. An unfavourable score on Individualism would be labelled as OTHER ideology.

A favourable score on Human Condition will be associated with classical liberal conceptions. Since classical liberals such as John Stuart Mill (see Chapter 2) have promoted the belief that "human development" is not only possible but desirable, statements in the policy documents which discuss improvement of Human Condition can be labelled as indicative of classical liberalism. So, for example, the following statement would be scored favourable on Human Condition (Alberta Education; April, 1987);

> Through education, students are assisted to realize their full potential, contribute to society, and shape their individual and collective futures. (p.4)

In traditional conservatism, human condition is tragically flawed by the belief in theocentric principles and human reason being limited. As a result, an unfavourable score on Human Condition is seen as evidence of traditional conservatism. In the following statement, for example, referring to theocentric principles supports the traditional conservative view of Human Condition (Alberta Education; September 5, 1989):

> The Alberta community lives with a conviction that man is unique and is uniquely related to his world. Generally, but not universally, this expresses itself spiritually, through the belief in a Supreme Being (e.g. God). Ethical/moral characteristics, intellectual characteristics, and social/personal characteristics must be treated in a way that recognizes this reality and respects the positive contribution of this belief to our community. (Document Number 08-03-01, p.1)

Traditional conservative support for the subordinate nature of human beings in relation to "God" is the cornerstone of a more pessimistic view of human nature.

Discussions in Chapter Two highlighted the equality of opportunity principle found in classical liberal ideology. Emphasis on equity of opportunities will be scored as favourable on the Equality thematic unit. Classical liberal ideology, then, is seen as exemplified by a favourable score on Equality. A commitment to equality of opportunity is found in statements like the following (Alberta Education; March, 1987):

> In addition, the Department developed a set core values (see Attachment) to guide its operations. These core values are: ensuring that all activities, either directly or indirectly, contribute to improved educational opportunities for Alberta's students... (p.1)

Traditional conservatism typically holds equality as a low priority, usually voicing concerns for theocentric or moral principles (see Chapter 2). An unfavourable score on Equality would look like the following statement (Alberta Education; September, 1986):

> No new compensatory programs under EOF Compensatory will be accepted. (p.III-6)

Apparently Alberta Education's support for disadvantaged pupils has been curtailed as a result of their belief that it is inappropriate for government agencies to provide "artificial" subsidies and assistance.

Traditional conservatives typically place a high value on authority; therefore, a favourable score on the Authority thematic unit is appropriate. Hierarchy of some individuals or organizations over others and assertion of ad hoc authority in decision-making is defended by traditional conservatives. An example of a traditional conservative conception of authority is found in the data (Alberta Education; September 5, 1989):

> Use of the words must or will indicates mandatory items. For example, "School jurisdictions will monitor and evaluate...and "school jurisdictions will develop, keep current, and implement their policies, guidelines..." indicate mandatory actions... (p.ii)

The traditional conservative conception of Authority, where procedures are dictated in an arbitrary fashion without reference to the basis of this authority, can be seen as embedded in this statement. On the other hand, classical liberals place authority in the rule of law or legislation (Medcalf and Dolbeare, 1985). References to the legal basis of authority or legislation will be scored as neutral on the Authority thematic unit. The following reference is an example of a neutral score on Authority (Alberta Education; Spetember 5, 1989):

> The School Act (1988) establishes a category of establishes a category of students called "Resident Students of Government" and requires that the Minister arrange for these students to receive an education. (Document Number 02-02-04, p.1)

Thus, an unfavourable score on Authority will indicate OTHER ideologies; for example (Alberta Education; September, 1986):

> The Equity Grant reflects the principles of simplicity, deregulation, and local discretion in determining the means of service delivery and local responsibility for educational outcomes. (p.II-1)

Traditional conservatives are well known for advocating the family unit as being the foundation upon which a civil society rests. Therefore, when Family is framed as a distinct unit that deserves special consideration in decision-making, it will be scored as favourable to the thematic unit Family. As discussed in Chapter Two, family, in conjunction with other small community relations are highly valued by traditional conservatives. In the following statement (see Exhibit 1), a favourable response to Family will be tabulated (Alberta Education; September 5, 1989):

> ...develop an appreciation for the role of the family in society (Document Number 08-01-01, p.1)

Classical liberals do not value family as much because of their emphasis on the individual, although family is seen as an important component in the development of the individual (along with other social structures). A neutral score on Family will be recorded as a classical liberal viewpoint. An unfavourable score will be indicative of OTHER ideologies.

The thematic unit labelled Government will be scored as unfavourable when terms such as down-sizing, deficits, budgetary and fiscal restraint, restructuring, and others are used in dictating the future role of government and government agencies. Classical liberal ideology is concerned with the freeing of individuals from established institutions; this tendency manifests itself in the belief that the government's role should be lessened or even eliminated in favour of market policies. A unfavourable score on Government, therefore, will be given to statements like the following (Alberta Education; March, 1987):

> This will result in major constraints being placed on government resources, the size of government, and its ability to undertake new initiatives. All provincially funded institutions will be called upon to do more with less. (p.2)

A favourable score on Government will be recorded when its activities are described in a positive context, for example, as the following statement shows (Alberta Education; March, 1987):

> In addition to the grants provided to school boards and other educational agencies, Alberta Education will initiate a number of cost-efficient activities which

> will assist school jurisdictions to manage and improve the development and delivery of educational programs and services to their students. (p.22)

A neutral score is viewed as characteristic of a traditional conservative conception of Government, since governments are valued in the traditional conservative sense only insofar as they provide social stability and order through social control agencies i.e., police, military, etc. They view too much government as de-stabilizing and "too democratic." (see Chapter 2)

Espousal of the status quo in social relations is a traditional conservative conception of the thematic unit called Tradition. Emphasis on the return to a "better" bygone era or system is indicative of a favourable score on Tradition. Many educators have called for a return to the "core curriculum" as a wiser strategy in meeting society's needs.A return to the core curriculum, therefore, will be indicative of a favourable score on Tradition (Alberta Education; March, 1987); "Schools in these districts will likely focus on the core curriculum." (p.5) Classical liberals believe that change and improvement will bring a "better" society rather than returning to older ways. As a result, an unfavourable score on Tradition will be labelled as indicative of classical liberal ideology. The classical liberal view of Tradition is found embedded in the following statement (Alberta Education; March, 1987):

> All of these changes emphasize the need for an educational system that not only is responsive to the

> changing world, but also is a shaping force which anticipates and contributes to building a preferred future. (p.1)

All other themes that cannot be categorized within the above eight thematic units will be labelled as Other. The thematic unit called Other will also be categorized as part of OTHER ideologies. The ambiguous nature of Other suggests that only a neutral score can be allocated to the data so categorized.

Exhibits 1 and 2 are intended to show how the methodology is to be employed with reference to the data. Figure 3 reveals the coding scheme used in Exhibits 1 and 2. In Exhibits 1 and 2 the text has been segmented according to the methods discussed earlier, that is, whenever a coherent value statement can be discerned from the text it will count as one observation and will be scored favourable, unfavourable or neutral on one of the thematic units. As viewed in Exhibits 1 and 2, some sentences can contain more than one statement, that is, it is apparent that more than one theme is being addressed. Following examples of the coding scheme used in the study, a brief explanation of each document included in the sample will be provided.

"PROGRAM POLICY MANUAL-1986"

Providing articulation of Alberta Education's overall guidelines for day-to-day operations of schools and

FIGURE 3: EXAMPLE OF CODING

Legend for coding in Exhibits 1 and 2

ABBREVIATION	THEMATIC UNIT-SCORE
ON	OTHER-NEUTRAL
AF	AUTHORITY-FAVOURABLE
AN	AUTHORITY-NEUTRAL
PEF	PROFIT ENTERPRISE-FAVOURABLE
HCF	HUMAN CONDITION-FAVOURABLE
HCU	HUMAN CONDITION-UNFAVOURABLE
TU	TRADITION-UNFAVOURABLE
TF	TRADITION-FAVOURABLE
EF	EQUALITY-FAVOURABLE
EU	EQUALITY-UNFAVOURABLE
FF	FAMILY-FAVOURABLE
IF	INDIVIDUAL-FAVOURABLE
GF	GOVERNMENT-FAVOURABLE
GU	GOVERNMENT-UNFAVOURABLE

Brackets ( ) represent the statements or sentences isolated for coding

EXHIBIT 1: EXAMPLE OF CODING
GOALS OF EDUCATION

(Achievement of the broader goals of education must be viewed as a shared responsibility of the community.)ON(Maximum learning occurs when the efforts and expectations of various agencies affecting children complement each other.) ON(Recognizing the learning that has or has not occurred through various community influences)ON,(among which the home is most important)FF,(the school will strive to)HCF:

-(develop intellectual curiosity and a desire for lifelong learning)HCF

-(develop the ability to get along with people of varying backgrounds, beliefs and lifestyles)HCF

-(develop a sense of community responsibility which embraces respect for law and authority,)AF(public and private property,)PEF (and the rights of others)AN

-(develop self-discipline, self-understanding, and a positive self-concept)HCF(through realistic appraisal on one's capabilities and limitations)HCU

-(develop an appreciation for tradition)TF(and the ability to understand and respond to change as it occurs in personal life and in society)TU

-(develop skills for effective utilization of financial resources)PEF(and leisure time and for constructive involvement in community endeavours)ON

-(develop an appreciation for the role of the family in society)FF

-(develop an interest in cultural and recreational pursuits)ON

-(develop a commitment to the careful use of natural resources and to the preservation and improvement of the physical environment)ON

(Continued from Exhibit 1)

-(develop a sense of purpose in life and ethical or spiritual values)TF(which respect the worth of the individual,)IF(justice,)AN (fair play and fundamental rights,)AN(responsibilities and freedoms.)AN

(The ultimate aim of education is to develop the abilities of the individual)IF(in order to fulfill personal aspirations while making a positive contribution to society.)ON

From "Program Policy Manual" (Alberta Education-Planning and Policy Secretariat; September 5, 1989; Document Number 08-01-01)

EXHIBIT 2: EXAMPLE OF CODING

COMMON PROCEDURES
(There are common procedures that are to be followed for the majority of policies in the Manual.)AF (They are outlined below for convenience.)ON(Those policies which have procedures that differ from those below, are noted in the text.)AF

1. (Alberta Education will provide information to grant applicants)AF (school boards, private schools or private ECS operators)PEF (in January in regard to the level of Provincial financial support.)AF

2. (a) (School boards wishing to access the School foundation program must indicate this annually in the "School Foundation Program Eligible Pupil Information Form", the "Report on Enrolment for the Month of September Distributed by Sex, Grade and Age Form", and the "Transportation Claims Form" submitted to Alberta Education (Grants Administration Unit) by October 22.)AF

(b) (Grant applicants wishing to access Special Programs must indicate this annually in the "Grant Application Form" submitted to Alberta Education (Regional Office of Education) by October 22. Claims for programs commencing in the second semester are to be submitted by March 22.)AF

(c) (Exceptions to these application procedures are noted in the text.)AF

3. (Grant applicants will keep on file specific documentation and invoices to support each claim. In addition, the following information is required:)AF
(a) (an eligible enrolment count as of September 30 of the current year;)AF
(b) (a count of the severely handicapped resident pupils;)EF
(c) (copies of current tuition or transportation agreements;)AF
(d) (a class list for each subject offered, including the name and age of each person;)AF
(e) (A list of schools, teachers and administrators involved in each program;)AF
(f) (financial statements for the previous operating year.)PEF

4. (Grant recipients will monitor and evaluate the programs as required by their policies.)AF (In developing and conducting evaluations, grant recipients should consider

(Continued from Exhibit 2)

involving teachers and administrators, university personnel, Alberta Education staff and members of the community, as appropriate.)AF
5. (Alberta Education will monitor programs according to the priorities set annually.)AF

6. (Alberta Education will evaluate programs, as required. The findings of these evaluations will be made public.)AF

7. (Alberta Education will review Provincial policies, guidelines, procedures, and funding structures and may make adjustments based on Provincial and local monitoring, evaluation studies, and other relevant reports.)AF

8. (Grant recipients may be required to make adjustments to improve their programs based on Provincial and local monitoring, evaluation studies, and other relevant information.)AF

9. (All grant recipients must submit financial and budget information to the School Business Administration Branch.)PEF (School boards will submit as "Audited Financial Statement" by February 28 and a "Budget Report Form" by April 30.)AF (Private schools and private ECS operators will submit both by September 30.)PEF

10. (Each grant applicant is required to prepare an Annual Education Report for distribution to the public.)AF (Two copies of the Report will also be provided to the appropriate Regional Office of Education by November 340 of the following school year.)AF (From time to time Alberta Education may outline Annual Education Report information requirements to be addressed by all grant recipients.)AF

administration appears to be the purpose of this document. Five sections are used as a framework for the various topic areas. They are as follows: I.Foundation Programs; II.Fiscal Equity Programs; III. Special Programs; IV. Provincial Evaluation Policies; and V. Communicating Education Results.

In Tables (3-18) located in Chapter Five, frequencies are tabulated regarding the designated thematic units. In Table 3 frequencies are tabulated for all the thematic units and raw nominal scale scores. Table 4 provides scores on the appropriate ideologies.

"DIRECTIONS TO 1990"

This document provides a comprehensive view of Alberta Education's anticipated priorities for now and further to 1990. It is a full-sized document of 37 pages. It includes an analysis of trends that are hypothesized as effecting decisions for the present and in the future. The trends are supplied in table form under the headings of Social, Economic, Educational, and Public Policy. In addition, the right hand side of the table has a column which lists Implications for Education 1987-1990 which are viewed as being associated with the trends established.

An attachment is included at the end of the document which later became an independent document. "Alberta Education Core Values" is attached to the end of "Directions to 1990;" however, because it later was issued as an independent document, it will be included in the sample and analyzed separately.

In Tables 5 and 6 located in Chapter Five, the scores on the thematic units are supplied for the nominal categories and the appropriate ideologies respectively.

"ALBERTA EDUCATION CORE VALUES"

In comparison to other documents in the sample, this document along with the next one are much more compact. Basically in pamphlet form, equivalent to about two full-sized pages, this document is a short concise articulation of Alberta Education's primary values. The nature of the study therefore is greatly enriched by the inclusion of this document; however, its overall effect on the summary statistics will probably be negligible. An opening address by the Deputy Minister of Education, Reno Bosetti, is followed by some dominant themes such as : Students; Leadership, Innovation, Excellence; Policy Based; Accountability, Achievement of High Standards; Stewardship; Cooperation, Participation; Quality Service, Professionalism.

In Tables 7 and 8, scores on the thematic units are recorded both on the nominal scale values and with regard to the appropriate ideologies.

"PROGRAM POLICY MANUAL-REVISED 1987"

A revision of the Program Policy Manual of 1986 was provided by Alberta Education in July, 1987. Its purpose and format is similar to the 1986 version. The same five sections are used: I. Foundation Programs II. Fiscal Equity Programs III. Special Programs IV. Program Evaluation Policies V. Communicating Education Results.

In Table 9 frequencies are tabulated on all the thematic units and raw nominal scale scores. Table 10 provides scores on the appropriate ideology.

"ALBERTA EDUCATION: MISSION, GOALS, AND SUB-GOALS"

In pamphlet form, this document is basically an extrapolation from the core values established in the previous document. In many ways, its format is similar to that shown in the previous document. For example, an opening statement is again provided by the Deputy Minister of Education, Reno Bosetti. Also, the four main headings correspond with the core values. The following is a list of the main headings: 1.Quality Education 2. Equitable Access 3. Cooperation and Participation 4. Leadership in Management.

Although the findings of this pamphlet should be revealing, again its size in relation to the total sample will prevent it from having a large impact on the summary statistics. Some of the findings are listed in Tables 11 and 12.

"EDUCATION IN ALBERTA: SOME MAJOR EDUCATIONAL TRENDS"

In June 1988 two documents were produced by the Planning and Policy Secretariat constituting a series, "Education in Alberta: Some Major Educational Trends" and "Education in Alberta: Some Major Societal Trends. Seven sections are included in the document "Education in Alberta: Some Major Educational Trends as follows: 1. Student Enrollment 2. Student Programs/Courses 3. Student Achievement 4. Teachers 5. Educational Finance 6. Public Policy Changes 7. Public Opinion.

This document contains 45 full-sized pages. The left-hand page contains written statements while the right-hand page includes statistical information. Content analysis will be performed on the written statements and titles of the statistical tables and figures only. Data displayed in the statistical forms or interpretations of this data will not be performed.

Tables 13 and 14 list some of the findings of a search for the thematic units within "Education in Alberta: Some Major Educational Trends."

"EDUCATION IN ALBERTA: SOME MAJOR SOCIETAL TRENDS"

The format and magnitude of this document is similar to the previous one; however, the sections are titled differently as follows: 1. Demographics 2. Family and Society 3. Alberta;s Youth 4. Labour Force 5. Advances in Science and Technology 7. Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Unlike "Education in Alberta: Some Major Educational Trends," it is greater in length, at 75 full-sized pages.

Again data extracted from the written text and the titles of statistical information only are analyzed. Much of what is presented in the statistical information is of a visual nature and would require a further modified study to be dealt with appropriately.

In Tables 15 and 16 a summary of the findings on the thematic units is provided both on the nominal scale and on the appropriate ideologies.

"PROGRAM POLICY MANUAL-1989"

The 1989 version of the Program Policy Manual is even more comprehensive than those from 1986 and 1987. In this 1989 version an organizational chart is provided along with a statement of philosophy before the main text is undertaken in the following format: Education Programs; Referrals and

Appeals; Provincial Monitoring, Evaluating, and Auditing; operations Management; School Finance; Communicating Education Results; Ministerial Orders and Directives; and Forms.

All sections will be content analyzed as in previous documents. However, the Forms provided at the end of the Manual will be excluded from the analysis. This document is equivalent to 120 full-sized pages in length. Therefore, the explication of any patterns could be satisfied by analysis of the text only.

In Tables 17 and 18, numbers are supplied on the occurrence of designated thematic units. In Table 17 frequencies are tabulated on all the thematic units and raw nominal scores, Table 18 provides scores on the appropriate ideology.

SUMMARY

This chapter has given some examples of how data were coded and how the thematic units have been scored in relation to the theoretical discussions of Chapters Two and Three. In addition, a brief description of each document included in the sample has been provided.

The frequency tables and other statistics provided in the next chapter provide tabulations of the findings from the content analysis of eight selected Alberta Education policy documents. The statistics generated from each document will be discussed separately along with a discussion of the topical patterns of the data in general. Conclusions will then be drawn regarding the descriptive nature of these statistics.

CHAPTER FIVE: FINDINGS

How much neoconservative ideology can be found in these policy documents? What is its shape and what are its constituent elements? All of these questions can be explored by viewing the findings of the tables included in this chapter. The tables will be located between discussion of thematic units and the discussions of specified ideologies.

Some claim that a policy document reflects the author's values, however, this claim is modified here by the belief that the editing function performed by committees or the ultimate decision-makers in Alberta Education is also influential. It is beleived that neoconservatism plays a significant role in Alberta Education policy documents rather than the so-called "neutral" stance.

The tables listed in this Chapter provide some information about the occurrence of each thematic unit. Each thematic unit will be discussed in relation to the overall framework of the study. Information not only about each thematic unit but also how prevalent these concepts are in the composition of the overall ideology can be obtained through review of Tables 20 and 21.

PROFIT ENTERPRISE

Profit Enterprise is a concept which, when scored favourable, can be seen as indicative of classical liberalism. Also, in previous chapters it has been established that an unfavourable score would be indicative of traditional conservatism.

The presence of data in the policy documents that could be coded under the Profit Enterprise thematic unit could be characterized by its producers in a variety of ways. If there is a belief in the correspondence between explanations and underlying ideology, then the way Profit Enterprise or any other thematic unit is framed will hold a great deal of descriptive value. The inclusion of Profit Enterprise in the data, as a result, could be characteristically presented in a variety of different ways. One scenario could be called an integrative perspective; school and work are integrated and therefore data must reflect this reality. Another possible format for including Profit Enterprise could be in using it as a neutral explanation of what is the status quo. Some would explain Profit Enterprise in the context of the corporate-state nexus of power. In egalitarian terms, Profit Enterprise would be typified as an impediment to the progress of society towards a more just and equal society. These are not all the possible contexts in which Profit Enterprise could be introduced; however, some of the most common are listed.

In the findings of this study (Tables 3-18 and Table 20) it is clear that when the thematic unit Profit Enterprise does appear, it is overwhelmingly a reflection of classical liberalism. Four of the eight policy documents analyzed did not include any unfavourable or neutral scores on Profit Enterprise. Those documents that did include a series of unfavourable scores still maintained a higher proportion of favourable scores; the proportions in these documents were all above 56%.

Much of the data which scored unfavourable for Profit Enterprise included statements regarding unemployment, which is seen by many as an inherent flaw of a profit enterprise economy. Ideologies usually provide "appropriate" answers to the existence of social phenomena such as unemployment.

INDIVIDUALISM

Individualism, when scored as favourable, is seen as an indicator of classical liberal ideology. Explicit reference to the individual did occur less frequently than other themes, an average of 1.3% of the data in each policy document. However, in the document "Alberta Education Core Values," a favourable score on Individualism comprised 5.8 percent of the total data captured. The nature of the thematic unit, Individualism, may have contributed to the lack of unfavourable or neutral scores. In the sample taken there were no statements found which could be scored unfavourable or neutral on Individualism.

Some of the figures mentioned above may not be indicative of the underlying prevalence of Individualism in Alberta Education policy documents. It is conceded that reference to Individualism could be further unveiled by a deeper cultural analysis of language such as that undertaken by Polanyi (1989) on American storytelling.

HUMAN CONDITION

Any ideology contains a basis value that can be characterized as "the nature of man and his condition." In this study, Human Condition is the thematic unit which satisfies this requirement. A favourable score, comprising improvement and optimism about the Human Condition, is viewed as indicative of classical liberalism while an unfavourable score, indicative of the traditional conservative view, is termed as more pessimistic and grounded in the tragic flaw of human nature.

The findings of this study (Tables 3-18) reveal that the classical liberal ideological view far outstrips any occurrences of traditional conservative views. When Human Condition was observed, all but two of the sample documents were recorded as having more than 90% of the scores being favourable. Previous discussions have indicated also that improvement of Human Condition is usually termed as the ultimate goal of education; a profile of the data supports this claim.

It is also revealing to see how prevalent the thematic unit Human Condition is in the overall data grouped as classical liberal. Human Condition averaged 29.8% of the classical liberalism found in sample documents, clearly establishing this theme as an important component of what is herein called classical liberalism.

The traditional conservative ideological view of Human Condition occurred much less frequently, averaging 9.3% of all data found under the Human Condition theme. It is also interesting to note that the largest occurrence of unfavourable scores on Human condition were found in the document "Education in Alberta: Some Major Societal Trends," where the largest percentage of unfavourable scores on Profit Enterprise also occurred. The co-occurrence of highest scores on two thematic units should not be overlooked. It appears as though the co-occurrence of high unfavourable scores on Profit Enterprise and Human Condition would be indicative of the disproportionate presence of OTHER ideologies.

EQUALITY

Equality of opportunity is a primary value of classical liberals, but as discussed previously, it is a certain type of equality. Traditional conservative ideologues reject equality in favour of privilege of the few, hierarchy, and other traditional concepts.

Again, the classical liberal conception of Equality was found to be more prevalent in the sample than the traditional conservative view. The classical liberal view makes up over 90% of all references to Equality in the sample documents. Unfavourable scores for Equality, as indicative of traditional conservativism, usually viewed inequalities as an unfortunate but necessary evil of an unequal but virtuous society. Careful inclusion of statements on inequality is probably due to the belief that explicit views in support of inequality are inappropriate.

Apolegetic acknowledgement of inequalities in society is typical for traditional conservatives. Correspondingly, unfavourable scores on Equality as a percentage of traditional conservative data (see Table 21) found in one sample document was highest (12%) in the document "Alberta Education Mission, Goals and Sub-Goals." Traditional conservative veneration for "natural inequalities" was typified in this document by statements of "significant differences" and "allocating resources differentially."(p2)

AUTHORITY

Authority was the single largest thematic unit found inherent in the statements of sample documents. As an indication of classical liberalism, a Neutral score was typically 18.5% of references to Authority. In contrast, however, traditional conservative conceptions of Authority prevailed with an average of 23.5% of all sample data. Discussions previously revealed the classical liberal neutral score on Authority as dependent upon references to the basis of the authority i.e., rule of law or legislation.

Unexpected data were revealed in that unfavourable scores on Authority were present in the sample. Unfavourable scores on Authority (2.7% of all references to Authority) were found principally in those documents with a future-orientation rather than those documents which deal with day-to-day operations such as the Program Policy Manuals. These unfavourable scores on Authority were grouped as part of OTHER ideologies.

It appears as though the Authority theme is highest in those documents intended to provide guidelines for operations and behaviour within the department i.e. policy manuals. Where Authority was found in Program Policy Manuals (1986, 1987, 1989), it was found that 87.7% (see Table 21) of the statements were presented as though points of fact. Although traditional conservative views of authority were overwhelmingly present in the Policy Manuals of 1986 and 1987, the 1989 edition was found to be quite different. References to legislation in the 1989 Policy Manual resulted in 27% of Authority statements being scored as neutral and as indicators of a classical liberal view.

In many ways the Program Policy Manuals supply statements of how things should be done and overwhelmingly this tendency is manifested in the traditional conservative view where authority is stated as fact without deference to any other higher principle or value. Some would claim that many directives are part of a bureaucratic or rational authority, however, whose view of rationality? In addition, traditional conservative and bureaucratic norms are not found with hard boundaries, some overlap does occur. In this study the degree to which traditional conservative views are embedded in Alberta Education's manifestation of authority is explicated.

FAMILY

The family unit in social relationships is a predominant concern in traditional conservatism. Classical liberals, however, consider families important only to the extent that development of the individual is concerned. No references in the sample data were found that met the requirements of the classical liberal conception of Family. Favourable scores on Family as indicative of traditional conservatism were evidenced in the sample. References to Family in sample documents averaged 2.5% of all statements, however, all of these were found to qualify as traditional conservative.

Although Family was a seemingly small part of the overall data, some nuances across the sample could provide some interesting answers or even pose more questions. In the document "Education in Alberta: Some Major Societal Trends," 17.4% of all the statements were scored as favourable on Family. Many explanations could be supplied to account for the prevalence of Family in determining major societal trends. One of the most popular explanations for a large number of favourable scores to Family would be that families are seen by Alberta Education as instrumental in societal development.

GOVERNMENT

Unfavourable scores on Government were discussed as being indicative of classical liberal ideology. In the eight documents of the sample, six included statements which supported less government influence. In two documents, any references to Government were most likely to be in this negative light, where governmental activities were viewed as less desirable over other organized activities. In general, if any statement about Government was isolated at random from any of the sample documents, there would be a 63 percent chance that it would be framed in the negative sense that is attributed to classical liberalism. In the document "Directions to 1990," 84% of references to Government were cast in a negative light (see Table 20).

Explanations for favourable scores on Government could vary greatly; part of the explanation in this study is that OTHER ideologies are present. The overall trend evidenced indicates a swing towards the belief that less government is better. It is interesting to see that the belief is not unanimous, specifically in Alberta Education. In six documents, favourable scores on Government were more likely; however, when all sample data are grouped the relative effect of these favourable scores is overwhelmed by unfavourable statements obtained from the rest of the data. A closer look at the context where favourable scores were given on the Government theme would also provide more information. A majority of favourable references to Government were in the form of self-serving statements where Alberta Education states how good a job it is doing in fulfilling its mandate. An apparent dichotomous opinion within Alberta Education regarding government activities suggests an inherent ideological conflict--some support the classical liberal belief in less government while others hold onto the belief that government work is important and should be considered valuable.

TRADITION

Statements which have been found favourable to the theme of Tradition correspond to traditional conservative ideology. Frequencies show that the traditional conservative conception of Tradition is in a minority relative to classical liberal occurrences (see Tables 20 and 21). In only three of the sample documents (the three Program Policy Manuals) was a traditional conservative view of Tradition in the majority. In general, only 37.6% of all sample statements that qualify as Tradition were seen as corresponding to the traditional conservative position (see Table 21).

Veneration for change or improvements was discussed as being indicative of classical liberal ideology. Therefore, an unfavourable score on Tradition would be indicative of this classical liberalism. Discussions on Human Condition show that the nature of education provides, in its essence, some distinct presumptions. In the main, most educators believe it is inherent in the pursuit of education that Human Condition can be improved; as an adjunct, an unfavourable view of Tradition would play a role in this scheme where change is valued in that it allows for improvements. Sample data correspondingly supplied empirical evidence that classical liberal ideology predominates (nearly 70%) when Tradition is discussed (see Tables 20 and 21).

Other

All sample data not fulfilling the requirements of the above listed thematic units are coded as part of Other themes. Since the principal themes of both classical liberalism and traditional conservatism have been highlighted, Other themes could possibly be part of classical liberal or traditional conservative ideologies; however, for sake of manageability it is not seen here as adversely effecting the validity of the study to group Other themes under OTHER ideologies.

Other themes averaged 24% of sample data. Three documents were shown to contain relatively high amounts of

OTHER ideologies; they are "Directions to 1990" (Alberta Education; March, 1987), "Alberta Education: Core Values" (April, 1987), and "Education in Alberta: Some Major Educational Trends" (Alberta Education; June, 1988). Correspondingly, the prevalence of Other themes in "Education in Alberta: Some Major Societal Trends" accompanied the highest occurrence of OTHER ideologies (nearly 28% of document data).

CLASSICAL LIBERALISM

In general, 44% of sample statements were found to be indicative of classical liberalism. Within the sample, the range of classical liberalism was found to be between 28% and 58% of all statements found in a given document (see Table 19). These statistics highlight the fact that classical liberalism was the predominant observable ideology evidenced in the sample of Alberta Education policy documents.

Although classical liberalism was found more frequently than both traditional conservatism and OTHER ideologies, the idiosyncratic nature of each document provided some significant within-sample variance. Three of the eight documents were found to contain less classical liberalism

TABLE 3: PROGRAM POLICY MANUAL-1986 THEMATIC UNIT SCORES

	FAVOURABLE	UNFAVOURABLE	NEUTRAL	TOTALS
Profit Enterprise	97	01	0	98
Individualism	16	0	0	16
Human Condition	118	0	0	118
Equality	155	09	0	164
Authority	986	17	45	1058
Family	11	0	0	11
Government	8	2	0	10
Tradition	62	15	0	77
OTHER	0	0	379	379
Totals	1453	44	424	1921

TABLE 4: PROGRAM POLICY MANUAL-1986;SCORES ON IDEOLOGY

	CLASS LIB	TRAD CONSERV	OTHER	TOTALS
Profit Enterprise	97	1	0	98
Individualism	16	0	0	16
Human Condition	118	2	0	118
Equality	155	09	0	164
Authority	45	986	17	1048
Family	0	11	0	11
Government	2	0	8	10
Tradition	15	62	0	77
OTHER	0	0	379	379
Totals	448	1069	404	1921

TABLE 5: DIRECTIONS TO 1990; THEMATIC UNIT SCORES

	FAVOURABLE	UNFAVOURABLE	NEUTRAL	TOTALS
Profit Enterprise	66	51	0	117
Individualism	12	0	0	12
Human Condition	143	15	0	158
Equality	82	10	0	92
Authority	85	35	46	166
Family	21	0	3	24
Government	25	136	0	161
Tradition	18	106	0	124
OTHER	0	0	185	185
Totals	452	353	234	1039

TABLE 6: DIRECTIONS TO 1990; SCORES ON IDEOLOGY

	CLASS LIB	TRAD CONSERV	OTHER	TOTALS
Profit Enterprise	66	0	51	117
Individualism	12	0	0	12
Human Condition	143	15	0	158
Equality	82	10	0	92
Authority	46	85	35	166
Family	3	21	0	24
Government	136	0	25	161
Tradition	106	18	0	124
OTHER	0	0	185	185
Totals	594	149	296	1039

TABLE 7: ALBERTA EDUCATION CORE VALUES; THEMATIC UNIT SCORES

	FAVOURABLE	UNFAVOURABLE	NEUTRAL	TOTALS
Profit Enterprise	2	0	0	2
Individualism	6	0	0	6
Human Condition	35	2	0	37
Equality	3	0	0	3
Authority	13	8	4	25
Family	0	0	0	0
Government	05	4	0	9
Tradition	0	5	0	5
OTHER	0	0	16	16
Totals	64	19	20	103

TABLE 8: ALBERTA EDUCATION CORE VALUES; SCORES ON IDEOLOGY

	CLASS LIB	TRAD CONSERV	OTHER	TOTALS
Profit Enterprise	2	0	0	2
Individualism	6	0	0	6
Human Condition	35	2	0	37
Equality	3	0	0	3
Authority	4	13	8	25
Family	0	0	0	0
Government	4	0	05	9
Tradition	5	0	0	5
OTHER	0	0	16	16
Totals	59	15	29	103

TABLE 9: PROGRAM POLICY MANUAL-REVISED 1987; SCORES ON THEMATIC UNITS

	FAVOURABLE	UNFAVOURABLE	NEUTRAL	TOTALS
Profit Enterprise	69	0	0	69
Individualism	19	0	0	19
Human Condition	65	1	0	66
Equality	149	6	0	155
Authority	719	5	68	792
Family	11	0	0	11
Government	9	1	0	10
Tradition	51	7	0	58
OTHER	0	0	295	295
Totals	1092	20	363	1475

TABLE 10: PROGRAM POLICY MANUAL-REVISED 1987; SCORES ON IDEOLOGY

	CLASS LIB	TRAD CONSERV	OTHER	TOTALS
Profit Enterprise	69	0	0	69
Individualism	19	0	0	19
Human Condition	65	1	0	66
Equality	149	6	0	155
Authority	68	719	5	792
Family	0	11	0	11
Government	1	0	9	10
Tradition	7	51	0	58
OTHER	0	0	295	295
Totals	378	788	309	1475

TABLE 11: ALBERTA EDUCATION MISSION, GOALS, AND SUB-GOALS; THEMATIC UNIT SCORES

	FAVOURABLE	UNFAVOURABLE	NEUTRAL	TOTALS
Profit Enterprise	8	0	0	8
Individualism	0	0	0	0
Human Condition	17	2	0	19
Equality	6	3	0	9
Authority	16	7	0	23
Family	1	0	0	1
Government	1	3	0	4
Tradition	3	3	0	6
OTHER	0	0	13	13
Totals	52	18	13	83

TABLE 12: ALBERTA EDUCATION MISSION, GOALS AND SUB-GOALS; SCORES ON IDEOLOGY

	CLASS LIB	TRAD CONSERV	OTHER	TOTALS
Profit Enterprise	8	0	0	8
Individualism	0	0	0	0
Human Condition	17	2	0	19
Equality	6	3	0	9
Authority	0	18	7	23
Family	0	1	0	1
Government	3	0	1	4
Tradition	3	3	0	6
OTHER	0	0	13	13
Totals	37	25	21	83

TABLE 13: EDUCATION IN ALBERTA: SOME MAJOR EDUCATIONAL TRENDS; THEMATIC UNIT SCORES

	FAVOURABLE	UNFAVOURABLE	NEUTRAL	TOTALS
Profit Enterprise	92	17	0	109
Individualism	1	0	0	1
Human Condition	133	1	0	134
Equality	58	6	0	64
Authority	15	3	17	35
Family	4	0	0	4
Government	35	11	0	46
Tradition	57	136	0	193
Other	0	0	151	151
Totals	395	174	168	737

TABLE 14: EDUCATION IN ALBERTA: SOME MAJOR EDUCATIONAL TRENDS; SCORES ON IDEOLOGY

	CLASS LIB	TRAD CONSERV	OTHER	TOTALS
Profit Enterprise	92	0	17	109
Individualism	1	0	0	1
Human Condition	133	1	0	134
Equality	58	6	0	64
Authority	17	15	3	35
Family	0	4	0	4
Government	11	0	35	46
Tradition	136	57	0	193
OTHER	0	0	151	151
Totals	448	83	206	737

TABLE 15: EDUCATION IN ALBERTA: SOME MAJOR SOCIETAL TRENDS; THEMATIC UNIT SCORES

	FAVOURABLE	UNFAVOURABLE	NEUTRAL	TOTALS
Profit Enterprise	46	31	0	77
Individualism	0	0	0	0
Human Condition	93	53	0	146
Equality	3	0	0	3
Authority	9	0	22	31
Family	153	0	30	183
Government	3	0	0	3
Tradition	34	247	0	281
OTHER	0	0	155	155
Totals	341	331	207	879

TABLE 16: EDUCATION IN ALBERTA: SOME MAJOR SOCIETAL TRENDS; SCORES ON IDEOLOGY

	CLASS LIB	TRAD CONSERV	OTHER	TOTALS
Profit Enterprise	46	0	31	77
Individualism	0	0	0	0
Human Condition	93	53	0	146
Equality	3	0	0	3
Authority	22	9	0	31
Family	30	153	0	183
Government	0	0	3	3
Tradition	247	34	0	281
OTHER	0	0	155	155
Totals	441	249	189	879

TABLE 17: PROGRAM POLICY MANUAL-1989; THMATIC UNIT SCORES

	FAVOURABLE	UNFAVOURABLE	NEUTRAL	TOTALS
Profit Enterprise	113	0	0	113
Individualism	35	0	0	35
Human Condition	162	5	0	167
Equality	168	1	0	169
Authority	1610	45	611	2266
Family	41	0	0	41
Government	6	0	6	6
Tradition	95	11	0	106
OTHER	0	0	683	683
Totals	2230	62	1294	3586

TABLE 18: PROGRAM POLICY MANUAL-1989; SCORES ON IDEOLOGY

	CLASS LIB	TRAD CONSERV	OTHER	TOTALS
Profit Enterprise	113	0	0	113
Individualism	35	0	0	35
Human Condition	162	5	0	167
Equality	168	1	0	169
Authority	611	1610	45	2266
Family	0	41	0	41
Government	0	0	6	6
Tradition	11	95	0	106
OTHER	0	0	683	683
Totals	1100	1752	734	3586

TABLE 19: SUMMARY OF AVERAGES ON IDEOLOGIES (IN PERCENTAGES)

Document	CLASS LIB	TRAD CONSERV	OTHER	TOTALS
1	23.32	55.65	21.03	100
2	57.17	14.34	28.49	100
3	57.28	14.56	28.16	100
4	25.63	53.42	20.95	100
5	44.58	30.12	25.30	100
6	60.79	11.26	27.95	100
7	50.17	28.33	21.50	100
8	30.67	48.86	20.47	100
AVERAGE	43.70	32.07	24.23	100

	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION
CLASSICAL LIBERALISM	43.70	15.18
TRADITIONAL CONSERVATISM	32.07	18.38
OTHER	24.23	3.61

TABLE 20: COMPOSITION OF CLASSICAL LIBERALISM; THEMATIC UNITS AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE OVERALL OCCURRENCE OF CLASSICAL LIBERALISM

	DOCUMENT								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	AVG
PE	22	11	3	18	22	21	10	10	14.6
ID	04	02	10	05	0	01	0	03	3.1
HC	26	24	59	17	46	30	21	15	29.8
EQ	34	14	05	39	16	13	01	15	17.1
AU	10	08	07	18	0	04	05	56	13.5
FA	0	01	0	0	0	0	07	0	1.0
GT	01	23	07	01	08	02	0	0	5.3
TR	03	18	08	02	08	30	56	01	15.8

LEGEND

PE-PROFIT ENTERPRISE
ID-INDIVIDUALISM
HC-HUMAN CONDITION
EQ-EQUALITY
AU-AUTHORITY
FA-FAMILY
GT-GOVERNMENT
TR-TRADITION

TABLE 21: COMPOSITION OF TRADITIONAL CONSERVATISM; THEMATIC UNITS AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE OVERALL OCCURRENCE OF TRADITIONAL CONSERVATISM

	DOCUMENT								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	AVG
PE	01	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.0
ID	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
HC	0	11	13	01	08	01	21	01	7.0
EQ	01	07	0	01	12	07	0	01	3.6
AU	92	59	87	91	72	18	04	92	64.0
FA	01	14	0	01	04	05	61	02	11.0
GT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TR	06	12	0	06	12	69	14	05	15.5

than traditional conservatism. With the mean occurrence of classical liberalism at 43.7%, its standard deviation of occurrences was found to be 15.2% (see Table 19). The presence of classical liberalism, therefore, was found to be at a more consistent level than the incidence of traditional conservatism.

The themes which predominated as part of classical liberal explanations were found in the following descending order: Human Condition; Equality; Tradition (Unfavourable); Profit Enterprise; Authority; Government; Individualism; and Family. Human Condition averaged 29.8% of all classical liberal statements (see Table 20) and was found to be clearly the cornerstone of this mode of thought in sample documents. Profit Enterprise, belief in change (Tradition-Unfavourable), and Equality (of opportunity) were found to be important components to the overall occurrence of classical liberalism (see Table 20). Thus, in previous theoretical discussions the belief in improvements in the Human Condition being facilitated by an inherent value placed on change was unveiled.

The concurrent development of public education and classical liberalism was no accident. Many of the principles necessary for the development and widespread acceptance of the public education system were supplied by classical liberal spokesmen. The concurrent development of public education and classical liberal doctrine meant that many values are shared. It is not a surprise, therefore, that classical liberalism was found to be the most prevalent of the three ideologies studied in the sample. As evidenced through analysis of the results of this study, classical liberalism is a central component of neoconservatism (an average of 45% of all sample data). It is also clear, however, that it is not the only foundation upon which neoconservatism rests.

TRADITIONAL CONSERVATISM

The average incidence of traditional conservative statements in sample documents was found to be 32.1%. Traditional conservatism ranged from 13% to 50% of all statements found in a given policy document (see Table 19). Traditional conservatism, therefore, occurred frequently but not as often as classical liberalism.

Although traditional conservatism was found to be more prevalent in all eight documents, OTHER ideologies played a significant role in two documents and the frequency of traditional conservative statements were only marginally higher. On the other hand, the occurrence of traditional conservatism should not be relegated to a lesser position, for three of the eight documents contained more traditional conservatism than any other ideology studied. The mean occurrence of traditional conservatism was found to average

32.1% of all statements, with a standard deviation of 18.38% (see Table 19). There was a large degree of variability in the incidence of traditional conservatism. Therefore, in generalizing throughout the sample, one would be unsure as to how much traditional conservatism would be found in any given policy document. It would be fair to say that one would expect to see at least 20% of any Alberta Education policy document to be termed as traditional conservative.

Authority (which averaged 64% of traditional conservative statements, see Table 21) was found to be the largest single theme of traditional conservatism that one could expect to find. The traditional conservative view of Authority was especially evidenced in the Program Policy manuals that dictate day-to-day operations for Alberta Education.

In descending order the following themes were evidenced in sample documents as indicative of traditional conservatism (see Table 21): Authority, Family, Tradition, Human Condition and unfavourable statements on Equality. The nature of education almost dictates that Family would be held as an important theme due to the so-called functional relationships between schools and families in socializing children. The high occurrence of Tradition in the traditional conservative scheme is a given, the only surprising result is that it did not play a larger role. Part of the explanation for Tradition being the third largest occurring theme in traditional conservative statements could be the overwhelming presence of the classical liberal conception of Tradition masked traditional conservative intentions. Another explanation is that part of the Tradition theme could have been recorded as part of the Authority theme since their characteristics interface so closely.

OTHER

Two principal ideologies can be identified as influencing data not labelled as classical liberal or traditional conservative. Egalitarian ideologies could account for much of the data which do not fit the other categories. In many circumstances, egalitarianism has supplied the "radical" mode of thought opposing classical liberalism or traditional conservative thought. Although many view egalitarian ideologies as the antithesis of popular or mainstream ideologies, many also claim that egalitarianism is not "radical" enough to really attack the status quo in social relations.

Social democratic views discussed earlier are but one form of egalitarian ideologies. Support for the redistribution of wealth and higher levels of government intervention in economic affairs are familiar policy areas. As discussed earlier, the popularity of this alternative view apparently peaked in the 1960s and 1970s. However, the regression of these views has been attributed to the onslaught of neoconservatism.

Some of the most common themes found in the sample to be indicative of OTHER ideologies are as follows: Other, Government, Profit Enterprise, and Authority. Other themes were all those themes that could not be included in the eight themes provided. In general, Other themes comprised 19 percent of all statements found in sample documents. Government being scored as favourable was attributed to the presence of OTHER ideologies; whereas 4.2% of all OTHER ideology found was comprised of favourable scores on Government. As mentioned, most of the favourable scoreson Government consisted of statements which framed governmental activities as important and necessary. Unfavourable scores on Profit Enterprise also contributed to the occurrence of OTHER ideologies; where Profit Enterprise constituted only 4.6 percent of all statements scored as appropriate to OTHER ideologies. One reason for a small percentage of Unfavourable scores on Profit Enterprise is probably due to the near propaganda effect (Chomsky, 1989) under which the flaws of a profit enterprise economy are hidden. In addition, the even smaller role played by unfavourable scores on Authority consequently categorized as part of OTHER ideologies can be attributed to the social and political reinforcement measures that are typical of bureaucratic policy documents. It is certainly more likely, moreover, that traditional conservative or classical liberal conceptions of Authority would prevent the dissemination of so-called anti-establishment views towards Authority from being circulated.

Another important ideology that probably accounts for the allocation of data towards specific thematic units may be related to a pervasive educational ideology--progressivism. Many believe that "the Progressive School Movement" (Sharp and Green, 1975) is responsible for much of what we define as education today. Contributors such as Holt (1969) and Perry (1965) have supplied justifications for a progressive school system. Essentially progressivism entails the belief in tapping a child's potential not through didactic approaches but through "child-centred" education. In other words the school needs to be adapted to the individual requirements of the child, for the child must choose his interests and pursue them (Sharp and Green, 1975, p.41). In essence, progressive educators felt that modifications to teaching methods and curriculum choices would alter or eliminate the schools reflection or reproduction of a dysfunctional society.

No clear-cut boundaries exist between ideologies, therefore, the presence of progressivism is probably included in some of the values it shares with classical liberalism, traditional conservatism, and OTHER ideologies.

Although its largest influence is probably found in its inclusion in data labelled as OTHER ideologies, progressivism shares with classical liberalism and traditional conservatism similar observations on some themes. In order to provide an appropriate study of the presence of progressivism, however, different emphases on some of these themes would be required in addition to the inclusion or exclusion of others.

LIMITS OF THE STUDY

Nailing down any ideology is no easy task. The general nature of political ideologies discussed in this study allow for agreements or disagreements on many different bases. Differential emphasis on one core value can change the substantive nature of an ideology so greatly as to render it inappropriate to its original label. Although contextual variables affect the emphases in political ideologies, it is herein believed that a definitive general type of ideology can and should be established for the sake of analysis.

As a result of disagreement regarding appropriate labelling of ideologies, constituent elements are even more apt to be contested. Some might debate whether the themes highlighted in this study are in fact important components of the ideologies analyzed. All attempts were made, however, in this study to obtain an appropriate fit between popular definitions not only of ideologies but also their primary themes.

Concern about the selection of the sample and the resultant ability to generalize to a larger context is usually cited by any theorist when analyzing methodology. Critics might claim that choosing policy documents from one branch of Alberta Education only establishes ideological patterns for that particular segment of the department. The Planning and Policy Secretariat position in the organizational hierarchy (see Figure 1), however, provides some evidence of its influence and structural importance in effecting operations of Alberta Education.

Using content analysis to provide answers to the question at hand presents both possibilities and limitations. Other research techniques may have provided an equal or more in-depth analysis for the question posed. For instance, an analysis of current trends in education could provide some interesting information regarding the influence of neoconservatism. But in this study, it is beleived a closer analysis of specific statements in policy documents would provide more tangible information on the specific nature of neoconservatism found in Alberta Education. In analyzing one particular thematic unit, Individualism, it was noted that perhaps a deeper cultural analysis of syntactical forms such as that suggested by Polanyi (1989) might prove more useful. However, with Individualism being only one of nine thematic units this is not viewed as overly detrimental to the study.

A nominal scale is limiting in that it only provides a surface evaluation of the data. Other scales used in content analyses, such as those that measure strength or positioning of statements could have added more concrete information on the prevalence of themes and consequent ideologies.

Other research techniques may have been employed in exploring neoconservatism in Alberta Education. The content analysis undertaken in this study has provided some interesting profiles of both themes and ideologies existent in Alberta Education policy documents. Including other research techniques as an adjunct would certainly add strength to the claims made in this study. For example, performing a content analysis on interview questionnaires of key decision-makers in Alberta Education in conjunction with analyses of the policy documents would strengthen the study.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSIONS

It has been suggested that classical liberalism and traditional conservatism have come together in a synthesis to create what is herein called neoconservatism. Under no other coherent ideology, have traditional social values of hierarchy and order found common ground with laissez-faire economic doctrine. As outlined in Chapter Two, the socio-political conditions of the 1980s have contributed to the development of this new reactionary ideology.

Unlike the claims of a neutral or depoliticized administration of Alberta Education; data suggests that neoconservatism predominates in policy documents (elements of neoconservatism averaged 75% of all data studied, see Tables 19, 20, and 21).

Findings in this study support some familiar theoretical and topical claims. Human Condition statements corresponding to the classical liberal desire for human development of capabilities is verified by the findings; Human Condition is the single largest classical liberal theme at 29.8%. Classical liberalism's use of money as the measure of pain or pleasure is supported by a large role for favourable scores on Profit Enterprise; at 14.6% of classical liberal statements. Typical traditional conservative principles such as Authority, Family, and Tradition have supplied a large amount of the overall traditional conservative data; at 64%, 11%, and 15% respectively, Authority, Family, and Tradition have sustained corresponding roles in the theoretical discussions of Chapter Two.

Neoconservatives have used common themes such as Profit Enterprise, Human Condition, Authority, Family and Tradition to support its claim that governmental activities must be "restrained." Calls for lower budget deficits and reducing government expenditures have emanated from neoconservative camps. It has become clear, within neoconservatism, classical liberal values which call for the tearing down of established institutions, in this case governments, have combined with the traditional conservative concern for human nature's basic flaw. Calls for personal restraint have been modified into claims for government restraint. In other words, traditional conservatism's belief in personal restraint combined with classical liberalism's overwhelming advocation of profit enterprise contributed to the neoconservative message--LESS GOVERNMENT.

The neoconservatism found in Alberta Education policy documents suggests a specific configuration; it does not completely correspond with conceptions developed by the "prophets and scribes" (Marchak, 1988, p.7) of the movement. The idiosyncratic nature of each context will provide nuances in the topography of what is termed as neoconservatism. Correspondingly, filtration of the pure ideology is usually not (Marchak, 1988) "as consistent as the written versions produced by the scribes and the theorists." (p.7) In the study at hand, declarations regarding a certain belief of consistencies in ideologies was supported by findings which reveal moderately high standard deviations.

Marchak (1988) exposes neoconservatism as the following:

> somewhat contradictory set of beliefs which combine advocacy of minimal government, establishment of a completely free market, extreme individualism; and a strong, centralized government, controlled markets, and special concern for major economic corporations in the international market place. (p.7)

The first half of the explanation was verified by the findings in Alberta Education policy documents, however, the second half of the explanation appears inappropriate to the current analysis. Some evidence did surface in the analysis regarding favourable scores on Government, however, these scores were seen as indicative of self-sustaining praise rather than a manifestation of substantive ideological information. In addition, Marchak's comments about a desire for controlled markets is not supported by other references to neoconservative ideology (Resnick, 1982; Nevitte and Gibbons, 1984; Pincus, 1984; Iatridis, 1988).

Nevitte and Gibbons (1984) conducted a study on neoconservatism as an ideological theme. By questioning groups of university students, Nevitte and Gibbons (1984) found that at a minimum neoconservatism includes the following:

> [a]preference for down-sizing government, a belief in the efficacy of private enterprise and hence a preference for deregulating the economy. (p.385)

In addition, Nevitte and Gibbons found that Canadian neoconservatism included a group of social priorities rank ordered as follows: Maintain stable economy; Protect free speech; Maintain order in society; Fight rising prices; Maintain high economic growth; Fight against crime, etc. (p.389)

A degree of correspondence and divergence has surfaced between the findings of Alberta Education policy documents and the study of university students in Nevitte and Gibbons (1984). The labels used by Nevitte and Gibbons (1984) are essentially an extrapolation from the thematic units engaged in this study; from abstract values derivative from the attendant ideology, Nevitte and Gibbons (1984) have adopted popular pragmatic statements which have been associated with neoconservatism. In comparing the findings of Alberta Education policy documents, three of the above mentioned social priorities can be seen as associated with one theme studied, Profit Enterprise; Maintain stable economy, Fight rising prices and Maintain high economic growth. In addition, the social priority Maintain stable economy, connotes a veneration for stability that was found in

Alberta Education policy documents under the rubric of Favourable scores to Tradition. Commonalities can also be found between Authority as a theme in the policy documents studied and the social priorities of Protect free speech, Maintain order in society and Fight against crime identified by Nevitte and Gibbons (1984). Comparisons between studies on neoconservatism, therefore, allow for a more coherent understanding of the concept along with a better understanding of the idiosyncratic nature of its context.

The elements of neoconservatism found in Alberta Education policy documents could also reveal its idiosyncratic nature by comparing it with those variations found in Britain and the United States. Much of what has facilitated the ascendancy of neoconservatism in the United States has occurred through an alliance with the Moral Majority (Hughey, 1982). The presence of religious or moral precepts frequently associated with the Moral Majority appeared only marginally in Alberta Education policy documents. Religion or morality were not analyzed per se, however, preliminary analysis revealed these qualities as having a small enough influence in the documents as to warrant exclusion. Another method could perhaps highlight some inherent morality in these policy documents, however, as mentioned, a cultural analysis may be required.

British neoconservatism is tempered by a fair degree of socialism invoked by Labour governments. The major thrust of neoconservatism in Britain appears to be a swing away from collectivism and back to individualism (Resnick, 1982, p.138). The findings of this study, however, reveal individualism as having a small role in the neoconservatism revealed in Alberta Education policy documents.

EDUCATIONAL POLICY

In educational policy, neoconservatives have called for reduction of the "social experiments" of the 1960s and 1970s in favour of decentralized planning. Neoconservatism calls for the promotion of economic growth, the presentation of a common culture and the promotion of educational equity, however, these desires translate into the following changes (Pincus, 1984):

> all levels of education should have a larger number of required academic courses, more homework, and wider use of "objective tests" to measure student achievement. (p.52)

Pincus' conclusions mirror those discussed above, in discussing neoconservative educational policy he says:

> ...wants to turn back to some mythical time in the nineteenth century when free market competition, with no government interference, solved major problems of the day. (p.53)

Certainly, through review of public policy stances, neoconservative and back-to-basics interests begin to appear parallel. Both views appear profoundly conservative and precipitate more than just the maintenance of the status quo in social relations; it is feared by some educators (Goble, 1981) that neoconservatism will spawn a seemingly irreversible roll-back to privilege and loss of the relative social compassion exemplified in the 1960s and 1970s.

Goble (1981) agrees that the current "pendulum swing" (p.52) in education can be described as neoconservative. He also found that the education ministers of the OECD countries agreed with the current criticism of schools being politically motivated; basically a reaction against the democratizing and equalizing thrust of educational reforms of the 1960s (OECD, 1976).

This swing of the pendulum, aided by neoconservative ideology, has been aptly described by Goble (1981) as follows:

> neoconservatism...is a general disposition to establish norms in all aspects of social behaviour, to restrain the attempts of underprivileged groups to adjust their status in relation to the rest of society, and to affirm values rather than question them-in a word, to create an appearance of order, control, and security. (p.52)

Two trends found in the data of this study support claims made by Goble. Firstly, suspension of the Equal Opportunities Fund-Compensatory Component is indicative of Alberta Education's (September, 1986, p.III-4) lessened commitment to underprivileged groups. Secondly, prevalence of favourable scores on Authority are indicative of what Goble (1981) labels as a re-affirmation of values, an orientation towards "order, control and security." (p.52)

Pincus (1984) uses a modified term in labelling neoconservatives, he calls them "Centrist Conservatives." (p.51) A certain type of discipline, says Pincus (1984), is advocated by these Centrist Conservatives. These Centrist Conservatives or neoconservatives place a high value on an orderly classroom and support the re-establishment of traditional authority by school administrators rather than a reliance on "liberal" court decisions (p.53). Pincus (1984) argues, however, that the assertion of traditional authorities is an ill-conceived policy when faced with such social problems as drinking, drug abuse, violence, and teen pregnancy. For many of the socially disadvantaged, the so-called equal starting point in education is modified by social and financial poverty, poor support systems, and usually an inadequate acculturation process.

Contrary to claims made of providing disadvantaged social groups with avenues for mobility, neoconservatism has established other priorities. Neoconservatives aided by other disgruntled segments of society (Dolce, 1981) have called for returns to more familiar education rather than reform-oriented education. Serving as a catalyst, neoconservatism has contributed to calls for a return to the "selective school" (Goble, 1981, p.53). It is this selective school that has been blamed for five million illiterate Canadians.

Neoconservatism has precipitated the suspension of reforms initiated in the 60s and 70s. In a bout of neoconservative furor, educators have been encouraged to suspend visionary reforms designed for the majority of students. It is these neoconservatives who threaten to bring education back under the control of the privileged through, "unjustifiable financial cutbacks and the political pressures that make it so hard to operate effectively" (Goble, 1981, p.55).

In general, neoconservatives have been able to jump on the bandwagon of popular issues to gain widespread support for their partisan views of how educational systems should function. For instance, taxes are a popular issue of debate; neoconservatives have advocated lower expenditures on education, taking advantage of popular opinion that taxes are too high (Dolce, 1981, p.18). In this study, the clarity of neoconservative support for lower taxes and lower government expenditures were found to be manifest in those statements scored as unfavourable for Government.

Suspension of the Equality of Opportunity Fund (EOF) by Alberta Education (September, 1986; p.III-4) mirrors claims made by Dolce (1981, p.19) that a new conservatism has challenged even the most sacred values in education--equality of opportunity. Dolce (1981, p.19) claims that this tendency to pull-back on financial commitments is symptomatic of a lessened commitment to equal educational opportunities.

The classical liberal component of neoconservative ideology has provided a basis for the support of free market principles. Even in education, neoconservatives believe that a free-market of "private" schools would better serve a diverse society. For instance, neoconservatives have adopted a view similar to the following (Sizer, 1969):

> Competition is the newest old panacea for the reform of American schools. The argument for it is simple: The public schools are a monopoly and monopolies offer neither variety nor high quality. As America needs both varied and excellent schools, competitive pressure is clearly required. A marketplace must be created for education, with children and their parents as the choice-making consumers. The consumers, the argument continues, will pick the better schools most of the time and, in so doing, will force the quality of all to improve. (p.34)

Thus, the complexities of education are relegated to a status of supply and demand similar to tangible products manufactured by factories. In studying Alberta Education policy documents, this view of competition for students and the use of more private schools as voiced by neoconservatives is supported (Alberta Education; March, 1987, p.10).

Neoconservtive ideology has also supported decentralization of decision-making within educational systems. Decentralization has been a popular political catch-all phrase designed to solve complex social problems. For instance, neoconservatives advocate much the same rhetoric as discussed below (Pincus, 1984):

> All of the problems facing the schools can, according to the New Right, be traced to a single cause-

> overcentralized decision-making caused by increased federal control. This has allowed the schools to become "monopolized" by powerful "vested interests"-teachers unions, educational associations, and federal bureaucrats...The main goal of the New Right is to decentralize education in order to create more diversity and return control to the parents. (pp.50-51)

However, decentralization per se will not dissolve the problems to arise in the 1990s and the 21st century. Many oppose decentralization because of its potential in widening the gap between the haves and the have-nots; rich school districts in suburbia will be able to produce a qualitatively different educational opportunity than poorer inner-city or rural school districts.

Another policy gaining popular support in neoconservative quarters is that of the "educational voucher." Beginning with Milton Friedman's (1980) view of voucher funding for private schools as opposed to tax-supported public schools, neoconservatives have lobbied for drastic changes to taxes and its distribution to educational institutions. Friedman (1980), Sizer (1969) and other proponents (Pincus, 1984) of a voucher or tuition tax-credits system have suggested that each student be given an education voucher to pay for schooling along with any additional funds provided by parents. Thus, the explanation follows that all schools will compete for customers (students) thereby elevating the overall quality of education for all groups. In Sizer (1969) this voucher system is explained further (Sizer, 1969):

> Open enrollments within the metropolitan region is possible, and poor children, with their vouchers, are mobile and possibly even sought after by wealthy districts. With vouchers, private schools for the poor are financially possible. (p.49)

With a voucher system however, a projected scenario appears where those with the most resources (i.e., money) will be able to choose elite schools while the disadvantaged are categorically denied access through lack of funds. So the neoconservative commitment to equality of opportunity is again compromised.

Many groups echo cries for a higher quality education. However, Pincus(1984) and others have unveiled the neoconservative abandonment of equity in favour of excellence. In Pincus'(1984) article, "From Equity to Excellence: The Rebirth of Educational Conservatism," it is clearly stated that neoconservatives have provided oversimplified versions of the issues facing education.

An example of this neoconservative emphasis on excellence is found when Gardner (1983) states that educational quality has been directly affected by an overemphasis on equality for all social groups:

> For the past 20 years, federal mandates have favoured "disadvantaged" pupils at the expense of those who have the highest potential to contribute positively to society...By catering to the demands of special-interest groups-racial minorities, the handicapped, women, and non-English-speaking students...schools have successfully competed for government funds, but have done so at the expense of education as a whole. (p.54)

Without certain "equalizing" policies, however, the results for the disadvantaged could be devastating and lead to a further polarization, Pincus (1984) concurs:

> ... move to increase standards will probably have a polarizing effect, motivating some of the better students while making it even more difficult for some of the slower students. (p.55)

Like any broad policy guideline, the neoconservative call for less concentration on equalization and more on standards does not account for overwhelming obstacles faced by some social groups. Those who advocate principles often mouthed by neoconservatives seem to have lost empathy and interest in fostering a truly diverse and democratic society. Therefore, the ability of education to serve any of its original functions is greatly inhibited by the narrow, partisan view being promoted by neoconservatives.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I--LIST OF DOCUMENTS PRODUCED BY PLANNING AND POLICY SECRETARIAT-ALBERTA EDUCATION.

RESOURCE LIBRARY NUMERICAL LISTING FOR THE YEAR 1986

86-01 Selection Criteria for Integrated Student Information Management Systems - P.Wright and I. Wernik -Edmonton Public Schools

86-02 Minicomputer-Based Student Information Systems in Alberta Schools - P. Wright and P. Valbonesi - Edmonton Public Schools

86-03 Microcomputer-Based Student Information Management Systems in Alberta Schools - P. Wright and P. Valbonesi - Edmonton Public Schools

86-04 Electronic Information Needs Study - E. J. Ratzlaff Coopers and Lybrand Consulting Group

86-05 Identifying and Using Effective Teaching Behaviours -L. Mireau

86-06 Colour and Light Effects on Students Achievement, Behaviour and Psychology - M. Wohlfarth

86-07 An Evaluation of Alberta Education's Library Services - Deloitte Haskins and Sells Associates

86-08 An Evaluation of Alberta Education's Library Services- Sumary Report - Deloitte Haskins & Sells Associates

86-09 Role Analysis of Resource Room Teachers of Children With Learning Disabilities In Alberta - S. Lal Mattu

86-10 Educational Projects 1986-87 - L. Nelson - Planning Services Branch

86-10B Educational Projects 1986-87 - L. Nelson - Planning Services Branch - For Departmental Use Only

86-11 Instructional Materials for Education of the Gifted and Talented - Dr. Shirley Henslowe - University of Lethbridge

86-12 Tri-County Educational Improvement Project - Sage Institute of Canada Inc.

86-13 Program Policy Manual - 4th Edition 1986-87 Policy Section, Planning Services Branch, Alberta Education

86-14 Teacher Supervision and Evaluation Policies In Selected Alberta School Jurisdictions 1983-1986 - Dr. Townsend, University Of Lethbridge & Medicine Hat School District #76

86-15 Administrators' Perceptions of the Impact of the Management and Finance Plan and Block Funding on the Provision of Special Education Services - Elizabeth A. Downey

86-16 An Action Plan For School Improvement Using Attitude Surveys In The County of Lacombe - Robert K. David

86-17 Policy/Program Monitoring Handbook - Planning Services

86-18 Education Of Girls - By Harvey Social Research Ltd. Not Printed - Not Released

1986 REPORTS NOT RELEASED BUT AVAILABLE ON REQUEST

86-19 Instructional Potential Of Local Area Networked Apples - Final Report - Elizabeth L. Schick and Peter Valbonesi

86-19B Instructional Potential Of Local Area Networked Apples - Executive Summary - Elizabeth L. Schick and Peter Valbonesi

86-20 Applicability Of Local Area Networking Of Microcomputers To School Information Management - Final Report - Igor Vernik and Bill Olsen

86-20B Applicability Of Local Area Networking Of Microcomputers To School Information Management - Summary Report - Igor Vernik and Bill Olsen

86-21 The Method Of Repeated Readings In The Treatment Of Disabled Readers - The Learning Resource Centre, Calgary, Alberta

86-21B The Method Of Repeated Readings In The Treatment Of Disabled Readers - Summary Report - The Learning Resource Centre, Calgary, Alberta

86-22 Administrators' Perceptions Of The Impact Of The Management And Fiance Plan And Block Funding On The Provision Of Special Education Services - Elizabeth Ann Downey

86-23 Microcomputer Diagnostic Test Project - Final Report - Peter Calder

86-24 The Microcomputer Test Management For classroom Teachers Project - County of Parkland

86-25 Computer Managed Instruction In Elementary School Reading And Mathematics In The County Of Wheatland - Ann Brebner and H. J. Hallworth

86-25B Computer Managed Instruction In Elementary School Reading And Mathematics In The County Of Wheatland - Summary Report - Ann Brebner and H. J. Hallworth

APPENDIX II--RESOURCE LIBRARY NUMERICAL LISTING FOR THE YEAR 1987

87-01 Entrepreneurship in the Alberta Curriculum: A Monograph - Garnet W. Millar

87-02 Educating The Gifted: Evaluation Components - Warren D. Wilde and Melvin R. Sillito

87-03 Evaluation Report Of The Gifted and Talented Program Camrose School District #1315 - Warren D. Wilde and Melvin T. Sillito

87-04 Evaluation Report Of The Challenge Program County of Strathcona #20 - Warren D. Wilde and Melvin T. Sillito

87-05 Evaluation Report Of The Provisions For Gifted and Talented Calgary Board of Education - Warren D. Wilde and Melvin T. Sillito

87-06 Guidance and Counselling Program Review 1985 - 1986 Summary Report - Edmonton Public School District No. 7

87-07 Guidance and Counselling Program Review 1985 - 1986 Detailed Report - Edmonton Public School No. 7

87-08 Language Arts Product Evaluation Listening Tests And Teachers' Manuals - Grande Prairie School District No. 2357

87-09 Langauge Arts Product Evaluation: The Evaluation Of Written Composition Teacher Marking Packages - Grande Prairie School District No. 2357

87-10 Rocky Mountain School division No. 15 - Evaluation Model - Humanite Services Planning Ltd.

87-11 System Review Design - County of Strathcona No. 20 - Stevenson Kellogg Ernst & Whinney

87-12 Inservice Evaluation Project - Marilyn Samuels and M. Anne Price

87-13 Inservice Evaluation Project - Summary Report

87-14 Development And Evaluation Of The "Thinking With Logo" Curriculum - Judi Hunter, Theresa Kemp and Ian Hyslop

87-15 The Educational Effects Of Word Processors - County of Lacombe No. 14 - Gary Spence

87-17A	Leadership and Leadership Development: A Review And Synthesis Of Contemporary Thought - L. W. Downey Research Associates Ltd.
87-17B	The Alberta Academy For Educational Leadership - L. W. Downey Reearch Associates Ltd.
87-18	Preparation Programs In Alberta Universities: Teachers' Evaluation - Alberta Teachers' Asociation
87-19	The Effective Classroom Teacher: A Review Of The Literature - Alberta Teachers' Association
87-20	Assessing Teacher Education Programs In Canada: Goals And Follow-Up Studies - Alberta Teachers' Association
87-21	Interviews In The Teacher Preparation Programs Study - Alberta Teachers' Association
87-22	Teachers' Evaluation Of Their Preparation For Teaching - Alberta Teachers' Association

*87-18 through 87-22 Available from the Alberta Teachers' Association address requests to the Association; 11010-142 Street, Edmonton, T5N 2R1

87-23	Perspectives On Distance Education - Ian James, Wolfgang Schimeck, John Travers
87-24	Current Initiatives - Implementing the Four Year Plan -Craig Roxburgh - For Departmental Use Only
87-25	Program Policy Manual - Update

APPENDIX III--RESOURCE LIBRARY NUMERICAL LISTING FOR THE YEAR 1988

88-01(a)	Evaluation of the Initiation to Teaching Project - Technical Report Volume 1
88-01(b)	Evaluation of the Initiation to Teaching Project - Technical Report Volume 2
88-01(c)	Evaluation of the Initiation to Teaching Project - Final Report
88-01(d)	Evaluation of the Initiation to Teaching Project - Summary Report
88-02	Teacher Evaluation Policy Implementation - John M. Burger
88-03	Evaluation of Community Schools - Harvey Research Ltd.
88-04	Directions to 1990 - Alberta Education's Four Year Plan - Planning and Policy Secretariat
88-05	Current Initiatives - Implementing The Four Year Plan - Planning and Policy Secretariat
88-06	Alberta Education Reorganization Implementation Framework - Planning and Policy Secretariat
88-07	Framework for Action: The Management of Education Cycle Underlying the Management and Fiance Plan - Alberta School Trustee's Association
88-08(a)	Project ABC: Advancement Based on Competency Summative Evaluation - Gail V. Barrington & Associates
88-08(b)	Project ABC: Advancement Based on Competency Summary Report - Gail V. Barrington & Associates
88-09	Provincial Summary of Regional Offices of Education Zone Monitoring Reports for 1986-87 - Planning and Policy Secretariat FOR DEPARTMENTAL USE ONLY
88-10(a)	A Study of the Alberta Correspondence School: Organization and Administration - Planning and Policy Secretariat CONFIDENTIAL
88-10(b)	A Study of the Alberta Correspondence School: Organization and Administration - Planning and

88-11	Policy Secretariat SUMMARY REPORT CONFIDENTIAL Basic Learning At A Distance: Building New Partnerships - Ian James CONFIDENTIAL
88-12	Partnership Program Evaluation Study: Calgary Board of Education - Gail V. Barrington and Associates
88-13	Alberta Education Mission, Goals and Sub-Goals - "The Best Possible Education For All Alberta Students - Alberta Education
88-14	Alberta Education Core Values - Alberta Education
88-15	Towards Achieving Our Goals - Departmental Use Only
88-16	Directions For The School Superintendency in Alberta - Findings and Recommendations of the Superintendent Qualifications Committee - Annelie Speidelsbach - November 1988
88-17	An Examination of the Statistics and Reporting Procedures Used in the Standardized Testing Program of the Edmonton Catholic Schools - D.D. Harley & T.O. Majuire
88-18	Education in Alberta: Basic Statistics (1988 edition)
88-19	Education in Alberta: Some Facts and Figures (1988 edition)
88-20	Education in Alberta: A Compendium of Education and Social Statistics (1988 edition)
88-21	Project 99 - The Evaluation of a Modified Junior High School Program for Over-age, Underachieving Students - D. Hepburn Consulting, Ponoka

APPENDIX IV--RESOURCE LIBRARY NUMERICAL LISTING FOR THE YEAR 1989

89-01 Project ABC: Advancement Based on Competency - Summary and Final Report - Gail V. Barrington & Associates

89-02 A Study of Indoor Air Quality in Alberta Schools - Keen Engineering Co. Ltd. and Theodore D. Sterling Limited - Full Report and Project Highlights

89-03 Impact of Evaluators' Feedback on Teachers' Subsequent Performances and Attitudes Toward Future Evaluations - David John Beresh

89-04 Regional Price Differences of Selected Education Programs: Phase I - Education Price Index

89-05 Regional Price Differences of Selected Education Programs: Phase II - Analysis of Per Pupil Expenditures

89-06 Research Design to Conduct Teacher Evaluation Policy Impact Study - June 1989 - Western Management Consultants

89-07 St. Paul Area French Language Education Survey - 1989 - Paul W. Conway, M.B.A., M.Sc. - Carcajou Research Limited Edmonton, AB

89-08 The Digitized Classroom Project Integration of Technology in Learning - A Joint Venture Involving: Alberta Education, St. Albert Public School District #3, University of Alberta, Alberta Government Telephones, and Apple Canada - June 30, 1988

89-09 Teacher Evaluation Policy Implementation - John Burger - October, 1987

89-10 Preparing Alberta Students For The Twenty-First Century (Draft) - A Four Year Plan For Education in Alberta - Alberta Education - September, 1989

89-11 Provincial Educational Performance Standards - Alberta Education - Planning and Policy Secretariat - September, 1989

89-12 High Needs Schools Program: Caring and Responsibility - Alberta Education - June, 1989

89-13 Education in Alberta: Some Major Educational

Trends - Alberta Education (Revised May, 1989)

89-14 Education in Alberta: Some Major Societal Trends - Alberta Education (Revised May, 1989)

89-15 Evaluation of the Initiation to Teaching Project - Technical Report Vol. 1 - Eugene Ratsay, David Frieson, Edward Holdaway and others - Alberta Education

89-16 Information Network Architecture - Alberta Education - Alberta Education Information Services- June, 1989

89-17 Partnerships In Education: A Discussion Paper (Draft) - Henry Codjoe - Alberta Education - Planning and Policy Secretariat - March, 1986

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ANYON, JEAN — Ideology in U.S. History Textbooks. *Harvard Educational Review*. January, 1979.

APPLE, MICHAEL — *Ideology and Curriculum*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979.

AVAKUMOVIC, IVAN — *Socialism in Canada: A Study of the CCF-NDP in Federal and Provincial Politics*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1978.

BARKER, E. — (Editor) *An Essay on Government*. Cambridge, 1937.

BARRY, NORMAN P. — *On Classical Liberalism and Libertarianism*. London: MacMillan, 1986.

BARTON, LEN and MEIGHAN, R., WALKER, STEPHEN. *School, Ideology and the Curriculum*. Sussex, England: Falmer Press, 1980.

BELL, DANIEL — *The End of Ideology: On The Exhaustion of Political Ideas In The Fifties*. New York: Free Press, 1962.

BERELSON, B. — *Content Analysis in Communications Research*. New York: Free Press, 1952.

BERNSTEIN, B.B. — *Class, Codes and Control*. 3 vols. Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971-1973.

BOWLES, S. — GINTIS, H. *Schooling in Capitalist America*. New York: Basic Books, 1976.

BUCKLE, H. — *History of Civilization in England*. 2nd ed. vol. 1, p.467, 1871.

BURKE, EDMUND — *Works*. sixteen volumes. London: Rivington, 1815-27.

CAMPBELL, COLIN — CHRISTIAN, WILLIAM. *Political Parties and Ideologies in Canada*. 2nd ed. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1983.

CARNEY, THOMAS F. — *Content Analysis: A Technique For Systematic Inference From Communications*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1979.

BIBLIOGRAPHY (continued)

CHOMSKY, NOAM Necessary Illusions: Thought Control in Democratic Societies. Toronto: CBC Enterprises, 1989.

CROGHAN, MARTIN CROGHAN, PENELOPE. Role Models And Readers: A Sociological Analysis. Washington, D. C.: University Press of America, 1980.

DALE, ROGER ESLAND, GEOFF, and MACDONALD, MADELAINE. Schooling and Capitalism: A Sociological Reader. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976.

DOLCE, C. J. Conservatism in America: What Does It Mean For Teacher Education? Journal for Teacher Education. Jl/Ag 1981, pp.15-

DOLBEARE, KENNETH M. MEDCALF, LINDA J. Neopolitics: American Political Ideas in the 1980s. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1985.

ENGEL, MICHAEL Ideology and the Politics of Higher Education. January/February 1984, pp.19-34.

EPSTEIN, E. H. Currents Left and Right: Ideology in Comparative Education. in Comparative Educational Review. February 1983, pp.3-29.

THE FRASER INSTITUTE Focus on Friedman. Vancouver, 1982.

FRIEDMAN, Milton FRIEDMAN, ROSE. Free to Choose. New York: MacMillan, 1980.

GARDNER, EILEEN What's Wrong with Math and Science Teaching in Our Schools? in Heritage Today May/June 1983, pp.6-7.

GERBNER, G.O. HOLSTI, R., KRIPPENDORFF, K., PAISLEY, W.J., and STONE, P.J. (Editors) The Analysis of Communication Content: Developments in Scientific Theories and Computer Techniques. New York: John Wiley, 1969.

BIBLIOGRAPHY (continued)

GIBBONS, ROGER NEVITTE, NEIL. Neoconservatism: Canadian Variations on an Ideological Theme? in *Canadian Public Policy*, 1984.

GIBBONS, ROGER NEVITTE, NEIL. Canadian Political Ideology: A Comparative Analysis. in *Canadian Journal of Political Science* September, 1985.

GOBLE, NORM Neoconservatism: Back to Privilege. in *The ATA Magazine*. January 1981.

GOTTSCALK, LOUIS A. (Editor) *The Content Analysis of Verbal Behaviour: Further Studies*. New York: Spectrum, 1979.

GRAYSON, PAUL L. GRAYSON, L.M. Class and Ideologies of Class in the English-Canadian Novel. in *The Review of Sociology and Anthropology*. 15 (3) 1978, pp.265-283.

HALSEY, A.H. KARABEL, JEROME. *Power and Ideology in Education*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1977.

HAMILTON, DAVID Adam Smith and the Moral Economy of the Classroom System. in *Journal of Curriculum Studies*. vol 12, no.4, pp.281-298.

HARBOUR, WALLIAM R. *The Foundations of Conservative Thought: An Anglo-American Tradition in Perspective*. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame, 1982.

HAYEK, F. *The Constitution of Liberty*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1960.

HOLSTI, OLE R. *Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities*. Don Mills, Ontario: Addison-Wesley, 1969.

HOLT, J. *How Children Fail*. New York: Penguin, 1969.

HOROWITZ, GAD *Canadian Labour in Politics*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968.

HUGHEY, MICHAEL W. The New Conservatism: Political Ideology and Class Structure in America. in

BIBLIOGRAPHY (continued)

Social Research. February 1983.

HURN, CHRISTOPHER *The Limits and Possibilities of Schooling: An Introduction to the Sociology of Education*. 2nd ed. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1985.

IATRIDIS, DEMETRIUS S. New Social Deficit: Neoconservatism's Policy of Social Underdevelopment. in *Social Work*. January/February 1988.

INSTITUTE FOR PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS, Inc. How to Detect Propaganda. in *Propaganda Analysis*, 1937.1:5-8.

JENSEN, A.R. Political Ideologies Versus Educational Research. *Phi Delta Kappan*. March 1984, pp.460-462.

KATZ, E., GUNEVITCH, M. DANET, B., and PELED, T. *Petitions and Prayers: A Content Analysis of Persuasive Appeals*. University of Chicago (mimeo), 1967.

KERLINGER, FRED N. *Liberalism and Conservatism: The Nature and Structure of Social Attitudes*. Hillsdale, N.J.: L. Erlbaum, 1984.

KINLOCH, GRAHAM C. *Ideology and Contemporary Sociological Theory*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1981.

KRIPPENDORFF, K. The Expression of Value in Political Documents. *Journalism Quarterly*, 1970. Vol. 47, pp.510-518.

KRIPPENDORFF, K. *Content Analysis: An Introduction to its Methodology*. London: Sage Publications, 1980.

KRISTOL, IRVING *Two Cheers For Capitalism*. New York: Basic Books, 1978.

LASKI, H. J. *Political Thought in England from Locke to Bentham*. London: Thornton Butterworth, 1920.

LAXER, JAMES *Decline of the Superpowers: Winners and Losers in Today's Global Economy*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY (continued)

Toronto: J. Larimer, 1987.

LOEBL, E. Kultur und Presse. Leipzig: Duncker & Humboldt, 1903. in Content Analysis For The Social Sciences and Humanities. by Holsti, 1969.

LUCUS, REX A. Minetown, Milltown, Railtown: Life in Canadian Communities of Single Industry. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971.

MACPHERSON, C.B. Democracy in Alberta: Social Credit and the Party System. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962.

MACPHERSON, C.B. The Life and Times of Liberal Democracy. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977.

MACPHERSON, C.B. Burke. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980.

MANNHEIM, KARL Ideology and Utopia. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1936.

MARCHAK, PATRICIA Ideological Perspectives on Canada. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1988.

MARKOV, A.A. Essai d'une recherche statisque sur le texte du romain 'Eugene Oregin' illustrant la laison des epreuves en chaine (Russian). Bulltin de L'Academie Imperiale des Sciences de St. Petersbourg Vol.6, 7, pp.153-162, 1913. in Content Analysis For The Social Sciences and Humanities. by Holsti, 1969.

MIFFLEN, FRANK J., MIFFLEN, SYDNEY. The Sociology of Education: Canada and Beyond. Calgary: Detselig, 1982.

MORLEY Edmund Burke: A Historical Study, 1867
Burke: English Man of Letters, 1879.

NELL, EDWARD Free Market Conservatism: A Critique of Theory and Practice. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1984.

NOVAK, MICAHEL Make Room for Family Democrats.

BIBLIOGRAPHY (continued)

Washington Star. August 29, 1976.

NOZICK, R. *Anarchy, State & Utopia*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1974.

PERRY, L. What is an Educational Situation? in R.D. Archambault (ed.), *Philosophical Analysis and Education*. Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965.

PINCUS, FRED L. From Equity to Excellence: The Rebirth of Educational Conservatism. in *Social Policy*. Winter, 1984.

PLAMENATZ, JOHN *Ideology*. London: MacMillan, 1970.

POLANYI, LIVIA *Telling the American Story: A Structural and Cultural Analysis of Conversational Storytelling*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1989.

RAYNER, JEREMY The Legend of Oakeshott's Conservatism: Sceptical Philosophy and Limited Politics. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*. June 1985, pp.313-338.

RESNICK, PHILIP The Ideology of Neo-Conservatism. in *The New Reality*. 1982.

ROBSON, J.M. (Ed.) Principles of Political Economy. Bk IV, Ch.6, Sect.2. in *Collected Works*. Toronto and London, 1967.

SARUP, MADAN *Education, State & Crisis: A Marxist Perspective*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982.

SCRUTON, ROGER *The Meaning of Conservatism*. 2nd ed. London: MacMillan, 1984.

SELDEN, STEVEN Conservative Ideology and Curriculum. *Educational Theory*. Summer 1977, pp.205-222.

SHARP, RACHEL GREEN, TONY. *Education and Social Control: A Study in Progrssive Primary Education*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975.

BIBLIOGRAPHY (continued)

SIZER, THEODORE R. The Case For a Free Market. *Saturday Review*. January 11, 1969, pp.34-93.

STANLIS, PETER *Edmund Burke and the Natural Law*. University of Michigan Press, 1958.

STARK, W. *Bentham: Economic Writings*. Three Volumes. London: Allen & Unwin, 1952-54.

STEINFELS, PETER *The Neoconservatives*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1979.

THOMPSON, S. *Motif-Index of Folk Literature: A Classification of Narrative elements in Folk-Tales, Ballads, Myths, Fables, Medieval Romances, Examplas, Fabliaux, Jest-Books, and Logical Legends*. Bloomingdale: Indiana University Studios, 1932.

VON MISES *Liberalism: A Socio-Economic Exposition*. Kansas: Sheed Andrews and McMeel, 1978.

WALWORTH, A. *Social Histories At War: A Study of the Treatment of Our Wars in the Secondary School History Books of the United States and in Those of its Former Enemies*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1938.

WEBB, E.J., CAMPBELL, D.T., and SCHWARTZ, R.D. *Unobtrusive Measures: Nonreaction Research in the Social Sciences*. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1966.

WEBER, M. "'Geschaeftbericht' in Verhandlungen des ersten deutschen Soziologietages vom 19-22. Oktober 1910 in Frankfurt a.m" pp.39-62 in Schrift der Deutschen Gesellschaft fuer Soziologie, 1911. in *Content Analysis For The Social Sciences and Humanities*. Holsti, 1969.

WHITTINGTON, MICHAEL S. WILLIAMS, GLEN.(Ed.) *Canadian Politics in the 1980s*. Toronto: Metheun, 1984.

BIBLIOGRAPHY (continued)

YOUNG, MICHALE F.D. Knowledge and Control: New Directions in the Sociology of Education. New York: Collier-MacMillan, 1971.

YOUNG, WALTER D. Democracy and Discontent. 2nd ed. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1978.

GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS:

ALBERTA EDUCATION Program Policy Manual-1986. Planning and Policy Secretariat. September, 1986.

ALBERTA EDUCATION Directions to 1990. Planning and Policy Secretariat. March, 1987.

ALBERTA EDUCATION Alberta Education Core Values. Planning and Policy Secretariat. April, 1987.

ALBERTA EDUCATION Program Policy Manual-1987. Planning and Policy Secretariat. July, 1987.

ALBERTA EDUCATION Alberta Education Mission, Goals and Sub-Goals. Planning and Policy Secretariat. Aril, 1988.

ALBERTA EDUCATION Education in Alberta: Some Major Educational Trends. Planning and Policy Secretariat. June, 1988 (Revised May, 1989.

ALBERTA EDUCATION Education in Alberta: Some Major Societal Trends. Planning and Policy Secretariat. June, 1988 (Revised May 1989.

ALBERTA EDUCATION Program Policy Manual-1989. Planning and Policy Secretariat. September, 1989.

Council for Interracial Books for Children. Stereotypes, Distortions and Omissions in U.S. History Textbooks. New York: Racism and Sexism Resource Center For Educators, 1977

OECD Reviews of National Policies for Education. Canada. Paris, Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, 1976.